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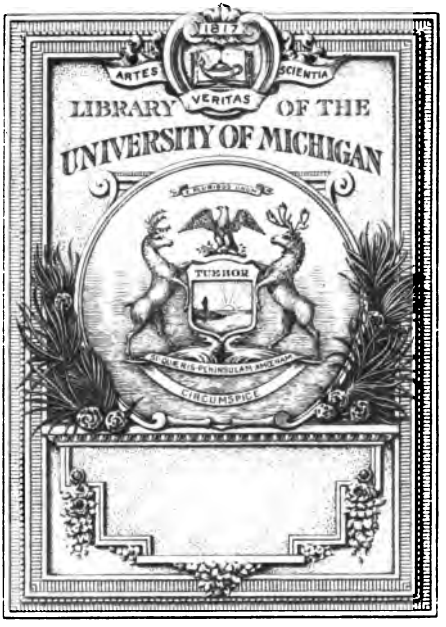
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Walker, Thomas

THE WHOLE PROCEEDINGS
ON THE
TRIAL
OF
AN INDICTMENT
AGAINST
THOMAS WALKER OF MANCHESTER,
MERCHANT,
WILLIAM PAUL,
SAMUEL JACKSON, JAMES CHEETHAM,
OLIVER PEARSALL, BENJAMIN BOOTH,
AND
JOSEPH COLLIER;
FOR
A CONSPIRACY TO OVERTHROW THE CONSTITUTION AND GOVERNMENT,
AND
TO AID AND ASSIST THE FRENCH,
(being the King's Enemies)
IN CASE THEY SHOULD INVADE THIS KINGDOM.

TRIED
At the Assizes at Lancaster,
April 2, 1794,
BEFORE THE HON. MR. JUSTICE HEATH,
ONE OF THE JUDGES
OF HIS MAJESTY'S COURT OF COMMON PLEAS.

TAKEN IN SHORT-HAND
BY JOSEPH GURNEY.

PRINTED FOR T. BODEN, MANCHESTER;
J. JOHNSON, NO. 72, ST. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD;
AND J. DEBRETT, OPPOSITE BURLINGTON-HOUSE,
PICCADILLY, LONDON.
1794.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

The following pages contain the account of a Trial, for a Conspiracy against the Constitution and Government of this kingdom, in which I have been made the principal defendant. The reader, however, will observe, that some circumstances occurred in the course of these proceedings which give them the complexion of a conspiracy AGAINST the *Defendants;* myself in particular.

For the present at least, I shall only briefly state, that no falsehood or slander was too base or malignant, for my *persecutors* and their adherents, to invent and propagate, for the purpose of injuring my reputation, both as a merchant and as a man; nor was any attempt omitted that could irritate the public mind against myself and the other defendants; and consequently prejudge our cause.

When the rights of the public are attacked in the persons of individuals, the public are, (and ought to *feel)* deeply interested in the rise, the progress, and the event of the conflict. I am in possession of a series of facts, which for this reason I doubt not would be deemed important, not only to myself, but, at least, equally so to the public, and would illustrate, in some degree, the confession of Dunn (the evidence for the prosecution) that he was BRIBED to become my accuser.

Perhaps the secret movers of this iniquitous conspiracy may be traced, by tracing the conduct of their inferior agents: but the present publi-

cation

cation would have been too long delayed, too much extended, and too miscellaneous, had the details been entered into, which were necessary to apprize the public of the progress of the persecution, with which the Defendants in this Trial have been harassed.

But they shall not be forgotten. I may at some future time, if my health and my leisure will permit, give a sequel to this Trial, which I have no doubt will throw some light on the secret machinations, and the open violence, alternately practised against the Friends of the People.

THOMAS WALKER.

MANCHESTER,
June 28th, 1794.

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Copy

Copy of the Indictment against Thomas Walker and others.

LANCASHIRE *to wit* } THE Jurors for our Lord the King upon their oath present that *Thomas Walker* * late of *Manchester* in the county of *Lancaster* merchant *George Mc Cullum* late of the same place labourer *John Smith* late of the same place labourer *William Paul* † late of the same place paper-stainer *Samuel Jackson* ‡ late of the same place chapman *James Cheetham* ¶ late of *Salford* in the said county labourer *Oliver Pearson* ‖ late of *Manchester* aforesaid labourer *Benjamin Booth* § late of the same place labourer *Henry York* late of the same place gentleman and *Joseph Collier* late of the same place surgeon being wicked seditious and ill-disposed persons and disaffected to our Sovereign Lord the now King and the constitution and government of this kingdom as

b

* There was a warrant on a charge of HIGH TREASON issued against, but not executed upon, this defendant: for the proceedings upon which, see the Appendix, No. I. to XI.

† There was a warrant for HIGH TREASON *executed* upon this defendant, for which, and for his treatment, see the Appendix No. XIII. XIV. and XV.

‡ There appears to have been a warrant for HIGH TREASON against this defendant issued, but not executed, see Appendix No. XVI.:—this warrant, as well as those before-mentioned, was issued by the REV. JOHN GRIFFITH, one of his Majesty's justices of the peace (at that time one of the chaplains to the collegiate church in Manchester, since elected a fellow thereof) upon the *sole* information of THOMAS DUNN, and for the *same accusations*, which are charged in this indictment as a conspiracy.

¶ For the treatment of this defendant, see Appendix No. XVII

‖ This defendant's name is Oliver Pearsall, for the treatment he experienced, see the Appendix No. XVIII.

§ For this defendant's case, see the Appendix No. XIX.

Cheetham, Pearsall, and Booth, were all committed by the REVEREND JOHN GRIFFITH upon the *sole* information of THOMAS DUNN.

as by law established and unlawfully contriving and intending as much as in them lay to break the peace and disturb the tranquillity of this kingdom did on the *first day of November* in the thirty-third year of the reign of our said present Sovereign Lord the now King *and on divers other days and times between that day and the twelfth day of June then next following* with force and arms at *Manchester* aforesaid in the county of *Lancaster* aforesaid unlawfully maliciously and seditiously conspire combine and confederate with each other and also with divers disaffected and ill-disposed subjects of our said Lord the King whose names are to the Jurors aforesaid at present unknown *to overthrow the constitution and government of this kingdom as by law established and to aid and assist the French then and there being enemies to and in open war with our said Lord the King against our said Lord the King in case such enemies should enter into and invade this kingdom in a warlike and hostile manner* and the said *Thomas Walker George Mc Cullum John Smith William Paul Samuel Jackson James Cheetham Oliver Pearson Benjamin Booth Henry York and Joseph Collier* in pursuance of the said conspiracy combination and agreement did on those several days and times at *Manchester* aforesaid in the county aforesaid *cause incite and encourage divers disaffected and ill-disposed subjects to the Jurors aforesaid unknown to learn and practice and to be instructed in the use of arms and military exercises for the purpose of assisting his said Majesty's said enemies against his said Majesty in case they should enter into and invade this kingdom* in contempt of our said Lord the King and his laws to the evil and pernicious example of all others in the like case offending and against the peace of our said Lord the King his crown and dignity And the Jurors aforesaid upon their oath aforesaid do further present that the said *Thomas Walker George Mc Cullum John Smith William Paul Samuel Jackson James Cheetham Oliver Pearson Benjamin Booth Henry York and Joseph Collier* so being such persons as aforesaid and so contriving and intending as aforesaid did *on the said first day of November* in the thirty-third year aforesaid *and on divers other days and times between that day and the twelfth day of June* then next following with force and arms at *Manchester* aforesaid in the county aforesaid unlawfully maliciously and seditiously conspire combine and confederate with each other and also with divers disaffected and ill-disposed subjects of our said Lord the King whose names are to the said Jurors at present unknown *to overthrow by force and arms the constitution and government of this kingdom as by law established* And the said *Thomas Walker George Mc Cullum John Smith William Paul Samuel Jackson James Cheetham Oliver Pearson Benjamin Booth*

Booth Henry York and Joseph Collier in pursuance of the said last-mentioned conspiracy combination and agreement did on those several days and times at *Manchester* aforesaid in the county aforesaid cause incite and encourage divers disaffected and ill-disposed subjects to the Jurors aforesaid unknown *to learn and practice and to be instructed in the use of arms and military exercises for the purpose of overthrowing by force and arms the constitution and government of this kingdom as by law established* in contempt of our said Lord the King and his laws to the evil and pernicious example of all others in the like case offending and against the peace of our said Lord the King his crown and dignity And the Jurors aforesaid upon their oath aforesaid do further present that the said *Thomas Walker George Mc Cullum John Smith William Paul Samuel Jackson James Cheetham Oliver Pearson Benjamin Booth Henry York and Joseph Collier* so being such persons as aforesaid and so contriving and intending as aforesaid did *on the said first day of November* in the thirty-third year aforesaid *and on divers other days and times between that day and the twelfth day of June* then next following with force and arms at *Manchester* aforesaid in the county aforesaid unlawfully maliciously and seditiously conspire combine and confederate with each other and also with divers disaffected and ill-disposed subjects of our said Lord the King whose names are to the said Jurors at present unknown *to raise and stir up an insurrection and rebellion of his Majesty's subjects against his said Majesty and to aid and assist in such insurrection and rebellion for the purpose of overthrowing by force and arms the constitution and government of this kingdom as by law established* in contempt of our said Lord the King and his laws to the evil and pernicious example of all others in the like case offending and against the peace of our said Lord the King his crown and dignity And the Jurors aforesaid upon their oath aforesaid do further present that the said *Thomas Walker George Mc Cullum John Smith William Paul Samuel Jackson James Cheetham Oliver Pearson Benjamin Booth Henry York and Joseph Collier* so being such persons as aforesaid and so contriving and intending as aforesaid did *on the said first day of November* in the thirty-third year aforesaid *and on divers other days and times between that day and the twelfth day of June* then next following with force and arms at *Manchester* aforesaid in the county aforesaid unlawfully maliciously and seditiously conspire combine and confederate with each other and also with divers disaffected and ill-disposed subjects of our said Lord the King whose names are to the said Jurors at present unknown UNLAWFULLY TO OVERTHROW THE CONSTITUTION AND GOVERN-

GOVERNMENT OF THIS KINGDOM AS BY LAW ESTABLISHED in contempt of our said Lord the King and his laws to the evil and pernicious example of all others in the like case offending and against the peace of our said Lord the King his crown and dignity

BATT

Witnesses

THOMAS DUNN
THOMAS KINNASTON

Copy of the Indictment against Thomas Walker.

LANCASHIRE } THE Jurors for our Lord the King up-
to wit } on their oath present that *Thomas Walker* late of *Manchester* in the county of Lancaster *merchant* being a pernicious seditious and ill-disposed person and greatly disaffected to our said Lord the King and contriving and intending to move and incite the liege subjects of our said Lord the King to hatred and dislike of the person of our said Lord the King on the first day of June in the thirty-third year of the reign of our said Lord the King at *Manchester* aforesaid in the county aforesaid in the presence and hearing of divers liege subjects of our said Lord the King maliciously and seditiously did utter publish and declare the words following of and concerning our said Lord the King that is to say *What are Kings damn the King* (meaning our said Lord the now King) *what is he* (meaning our said Lord the King) *to us if I* (meaning the said *Thomas Walker*) *had him* (meaning our said Lord the King) *in my power I* (meaning the said *Thomas Walker*) *would as soon take his* (meaning our said Lord the King's) *head off as I* (meaning the said *Thomas Walker*) *would tear this paper* he the said *Thomas Walker* then and there tearing in pieces a piece of paper which he then and there had and held in his hand to the great scandal of our said Lord the King in contempt of our said Lord the King and his laws to the evil and pernicious example of all others in the like case offending and against the peace of our said Lord the King, his crown, and dignity. And the Jurors aforesaid, upon their oath aforesaid do further present that the said *Thomas Walker* so being such person as aforesaid and so contriving and intending as aforesaid afterwards to wit on the same day and year aforesaid at Manchester aforesaid in the county aforesaid, in the presence and hearing of divers

divers other liege subjects of our said Lord the King maliciously and seditiously did utter publish and declare the words following of and concerning our said Lord the King that is to say *Damn the King* (meaning our said Lord the King) to the great scandal of our said Lord the King in contempt of our said Lord the King and his laws to the evil and pernicious example of all others in the like case offending and against the peace of our said Lord the King his crown and dignity And the Jurors aforesaid upon their oath aforesaid do further present that the said *Thomas Walker* so being such person as aforesaid and so contriving and intending as aforesaid afterwards to wit on the same day and year aforesaid at Manchester aforesaid in the county aforesaid in the presence and hearing of divers other liege subjects of our said Lord the King maliciously and seditiously did utter publish and declare the words following of and concerning our said Lord the King that is to say *If I* (meaning the said *Thomas Walker*) *had him* (meaning our said Lord the King) *in my power I* (meaning the said *Thomas Walker*) *would as soon take his* (meaning our said Lord the King's) *head off as I would tear this piece of paper* he the said *Thomas Walker* then and there tearing a piece of paper which he then and there had in his hand to the great scandal of our said Lord the King in contempt of our said Lord the King and his laws to the evil and pernicious example of all others in the like case offending and against the peace of our said Lord the King his crown and dignity And the Jurors aforesaid upon their oath aforesaid do further present that the said *Thomas Walker* so being such person as aforesaid and so contriving and intending as aforesaid afterwards to wit on the same day and year aforesaid at Manchester aforesaid in the county aforesaid in the presence and hearing of divers other liege subjects of our said Lord the King maliciously and seditiously did utter publish and declare the words following of and concerning our said Lord the King that is to say *There ought to be no King* (meaning that there ought to be no King of this realm) to the great scandal of our said Lord the King in contempt of our said Lord the King and his laws to the evil and pernicious example of all others in the like case offending and against the peace of our said Lord the King his crown and dignity

BATT

Witness

THOMAS DUNN

Lancashire

ASSIZES AT LANCASTER,

April 2d 1794,

Before the Hon. Mr. JUSTICE HEATH.

JURY.

WILLIAM HARPER, of *Everton.*
EDWARD ENTWISLE, of *Damend*, in *Ribchester.*
JOHN JOLLY, of *Mythop.*
RICHARD DIXON, of *Poulton.*
JOHN ELLISON, of *Liverpool.*
JAMES PARKE, of *Preesall.*
ALEXANDER TOMLINSON, of *Oswaldtwistle.*
JOHN WILLIAMSON, of *Scotforth.*
JOHN CARTER, of *Hambleton.*
WILLIAM CULSHAW, of *North Meols.*
NICHOLAS HEYS, of *Upholland.*
JOSEPH BROWN, of *Poulton.*

Counsel for the Crown.

Mr. LAW, Attorney-General for the County Palatine of Lancaster.
Mr. WOOD.
Mr. TOPPING.
Mr. JOHNSON.
Mr. JAMES.

Solicitor.

Mr. WHITE, Solicitor to to the Treasury.

Counsel for the Defendants.

The Honourable THOMAS ERSKINE.
Mr. Serjeant COCKELL.
Mr. CHAMBRE.
Mr. LLOYD.
Mr. FELIX VAUGHAN.

Solicitors.

Messrs. DUCKWORTH and DENNETT.
Mr. WILLIAM SEDDON.

[The

[*The Indictment was opened by Mr.* JAMES.]

Mr. LAW.

May it please your Lordship—Gentlemen of the Jury:

The indictment which has been read to you, imputes to the defendants a species of treasonable misdemeanor, second only in degree, and inferior only in malignity, to the crime of high treason itself. It imputes to them a conspiracy for the purpose of adhering with effect to the King's enemies, in case the calamity of foreign invasion or of internal and domestic tumult should afford them the desired opportunity of so doing. A conspiracy for the purpose of employing against our country those arms which should be devoted to its defence; and of overthrowing a constitution, the work of long continued wisdom and virtue in the ages that have gone before us, and which, I trust, the sober minded virtue and wisdom of the present age will transmit unimpaired to ages that are yet to succeed us. It imputes to them a conspiracy, not indeed levelled at the person and life of our sovereign, but at that constitution at the head of which he is placed, and at that system of beneficial laws which it is his pride and his duty to administer; at that constitution which makes us what we are, a great, free, and, I trust, with a few exceptions only, an happy and united people. Gentlemen, a conspiracy formed for these purposes, and to be effected eventually by means of arms; a conspiracy which had either for its immediate aim or probable consequence, the introduction into this country, upon the model of France, of all the miseries that disgrace and desolate that unhappy land, is the crime for which the defendants stand arraigned before you this day; and it is for you to say, in the first instance, and for my Lord hereafter, what shall be the result and effect in respect to persons against whom a conspiracy of such enormous magnitude and mischief shall be substantiated in evidence.

Gentlemen, whatever subjects of political difference may subsist amongst us, I trust we are in general agreed in venerating the great principles of our constitution, and in wishing to sustain and render them permanent. Whatever toleration and indulgence we may be willing to allow to differences in matters of less importance, upon some subjects we can allow none; for the friends of France, leagued in unity of council, inclination, and interest with France, against the arms and interests of this country, however tolerant in other respects, we can afford no grains of

allowance, no sentiments of indulgence, or toleration whatsoever; to do so, particularly at a time when those arms and councils are directed against our political and civil, against not our national only, but our natural existence (and at such a period you will find that the very conspiracy now under consideration was formed), would be equally inconsistent with every rule of law and every principle of self-preservation: it would be at once to authorize every description of mischievous persons to carry their destructive principles into immediate and fatal effect; in other words, it would be to sign the doom and downfall of that constitution which protects us all.

I am sure, therefore, for the crime, such as I have represented it to be, my learned friend will not, in the exercise of his own good sense, choose to offer any defence or apology; but he will endeavour to make the evidence I shall lay before you, appear in another point of view: he will endeavour to conceal and soften much of that malignity which I impute, and I think, justly, to the intentions and actings of these defendants.

It was about the close of the year 1792, that the French nation thought fit to hold out to all the nations on the globe, or rather, I should say, to the discontented subjects of all those nations, an encouragement to confederate and combine together, for the purpose of subverting all regular established authority amongst them, by a decree of that nation of the 19th of November 1792, which I consider as the immediate source and origin of this and other mischievous societies. That nation, in convention, pledged to the discontented inhabitants of other countries, its protection and assistance, in case they should be disposed to innovate and change the form of government under which they had heretofore lived. Under the influence of this fostering encouragement, and meaning, I must suppose, to avail themselves of the protection and assistance thus held out to them, this and other dangerous societies sprung up, and spread themselves within the bosom of this realm.

Gentlemen, it was about the period I mentioned, or shortly after, I mean in the month of December, which followed close upon the promulgation of this detestable decree, that the society on which I am about to comment, and ten members of which are now presented in trial before you, was formed *. The vigilance of those to whom the administration of justice and the immediate care of the police of the country is primarily entrusted, had already prevented or dispersed every numerous assembly of persons which resorted to public-houses for such purposes; it

* The Manchester Constitutional Society was instituted in October 1790. The Reformation Society in March 1792. The Patriotic Society in April 1792.

it therefore became necessary for persons thus disposed, to assemble themselves to do so, if at all, within the walls of some private mansion. The president and head of this society, Mr. Thomas Walker, raised to that bad eminence by a species of merit which will not meet with much favour or encouragement here, opened his doors to receive a society of this sort at Manchester, miscalled the Reformation Society: the name may, in some senses, indeed import and be understood to mean a society formed for the purpose of beneficial reform; but what the real purposes of this society were you will presently learn, from their declared sentiments and criminal actings. He opened his doors, then, to receive this society; they assembled, night after night, in numbers, to an amount which you will hear from the witnesses. Sometimes, I believe, the extended number of such assemblies amounting to more than a hundred persons. There were three considerable rooms allotted for their reception. In the lower part of the house, where they were first admitted, they sat upon business of less moment, and requiring the presence of smaller numbers; in the upper part, they assembled in greater multitudes, and read, as in a school, and as it were to fashion and perfect themselves in every thing that is seditious and mischievous, those writings which have been already reprobated by other juries sitting in this and other places, by the courts of law, and, in effect, by the united voice of both houses of parliament. They read, amongst other works, particularly, the works of an author whose name is in the mouth of every body in this country; I mean the works of Thomas Paine; an author, who, in the gloom of a French prison, is now contemplating the full effects and experiencing all the miseries of that disorganizing system of which he is, in some respect, the parent—certainly, the great advocate and promoter.

The works of this author, and many other works of a similar tendency, were read aloud by a person of the name of Jackson, who exercised upon those occasions the mischievous function of reader to this society. Others of the defendants had different functions assigned them; some were busied in training them to the use of arms, for the purpose, avowedly, in case there should be either a landing of the French, with whom we were then, I think, actually at war, or about to be immedately at war; or in case there should take place a revolt in the kingdoms of Ireland or Scotland, to minister to their assistance, either to such invasion or to such revolt. That they met for such purposes is not only clear from the writings that were read aloud to them, and the conversations that were held, but by the purposes which were

were expressly declared and avowed by those who may be considered as the mouth-pieces and organs of the society upon these occasions.

The first time, I think, that the witness Dunn, whom I shall presently produce to you, saw the defendant Mr. Walker, Mr. Walker declared to him, "*that he hoped they should soon* "*overthow the constitution.*" The witness I have alluded to, was introduced to the society by two persons, I think of the names of Mc Callum and Smith, and who, if I am not misinformed, have since taken their flight from this country to America. The first night he was there, he did not see their president Mr. Walker, but on the second night that he went there, Mr. Walker met him as he entered the door, and observing, from his dialect, that he was a native of Ireland, Mr Walker enquired of him how the volunteers went on, and said, with a smile, as he passed him in his way up stairs to the rest of the associated members, "*we shall over-*"*throw the constitution by and by.*" The witness was then ushered into this room, where he saw assembled nearly to the number of an hundred or an hundred and fifty persons. The room was, I understand, a large warehouse at the top of the house; there were about fourteen or fifteen persons then actually under arms, and some of those whose names are to be found in this record were employed in teaching others the military exercise. It would be endless, as well as useless, to relate to you the whole of what passed at these several meetings.

Upon some occasions, Mr. Walker would talk in the most contumelious and abominable language of the sacred person of our sovereign. In one instance, when talking of monarchy, he said, "damn kings! what have we to do "with them, what are they to us?" and, to shew the contempt in which he held the lives of all kings, and particularly that of our own sovereign, taking a piece of paper in his hand and tearing it, he said, "If I had the king here, "I would cut off his head, as readily as I tear this paper."

Upon other occasions, others of the members, and particularly a person of the name of Paul, who I believe is now in court, held similar language: damning the king; reviling and defaming him in the execution of his high office; representing the whole system of our public government as a system of plunder and rapacity; representing, particularly, the administration of a neighbouring kingdom by a lord lieutenant, as a scheme and device merely invented to corrupt the people, and to enrich and aggrandize the individual to whose care the government of that kingdom is more immediately delegated; in short, arraigning every part of our public œconomy as directly productive of misgovernment

and

and oppression. The King himself was sometimes more particularly pointed at by Mr. Walker. He related of him a strange, incredible, and foolish fable, which I never heard suggested from any other quarter;—"That his Majesty was "possessed of seventeen millions of money in some bank "or other at Vienna, which he kept locked up there, and "would not bestow a single penny of it to relieve the dis-"tresses and indigence of any part of his own subjects." Many other assertions of this sort were made, and conversations of a similar import held, between Mr. Walker and the persons thus assembled.

About three months after the formation, as far as I can collect it, of this society, that is, about the month of March 1793, a person of the name of Yorke; Yorke of Derby, I think he is called, arrived at Manchester, with all the apparatus of a kind of apostolic mission, addressed to the various assemblies of seditious persons in that quarter of the kingdom. He harangued them upon such topics as were most likely to interest and inflame them; he explained to them the object of the journey he was then making through the country; he said, he was come to visit all the combined societies, in order to learn the numbers they could respectively muster, in case there should be an invasion by the French, which was then talked of, and is yet, I am afraid, talked of but upon too much foundation; to know, in short, what number they could add to the arms of France, in case these arms should be hostilely directed against Great Britain itself; he stated that the French were about to land in this country to the number of forty or fifty thousand men, and that he was collecting, in the different societies, the names of such persons as could be best depended upon, in order to ascertain what number in the whole could actually be brought into the field upon such an emergency.

When this person was present, there seems to have been a sort of holiday and festival of sedition: each member strove with his fellow which should express sentiments the most injurious and hostile to the peace and happiness of their country. Dunn, the witness I have already alluded to, will speak to the actual communication of all the several persons who are defendants upon this record in most of the mischievous councils which were then held, and which are the subject of this prosecution. They met during a considerable length of time he attended (and here you will not be called upon to give credit to a loose and casual recollection of a few random expressions, uttered upon one or two accidental occasions, capable of an innocent or doubtful construction), but he attended, I believe,

at

at nearly forty of these meetings; he attended them from about the month of December or January, down to the month of June, when, either through compunction for the share he had himself borne in those mischievous proceedings, or whatever else might be his motive (I trust it was an honourable one, and that it will in its effects prove beneficial to his country), he came forward and detailed this business to the magistrates of this county. It became them, having such circumstances related to them, and having it also confirmed by other evidence, that there were numerous nightly meetings of this sort held at stated intervals at the house of Mr. Walker, upon having the objects of these meetings detailed and verified to them, it became them, I say, to use means for suppressing a mischief of such extent and magnitude. It was accordingly thought proper to institute this prosecution for the purpose of bringing these enormous proceedings into public discussion and enquiry, before a jury of the country, and for the purpose of eventually bringing to condign punishment the persons immediately concerned in them.

Gentlemen, the evidence of this person, the witness I have mentioned, will unquestionably be assailed and attacked by a great deal of attempted contradiction; his character will, I have no doubt, be arraigned and drawn in question from the earliest period to which the defendants can have any opportunities of access, for materials respecting it. Upon nothing but upon the effectual impeachment of the character of this witness, can they bottom any probable expectations of acquittal; to that point, therefore, their efforts will be mainly directed. I wish their efforts had been hitherto directed innocently towards the attainment of this object, and that no opportunities had been recently taken in occasional meetings and conversations to attempt to tamper with the testimony of this witness. There are other practices, which next to an actual tampering with the testimony of a witness, are extremely mischievous to the regular course and administration of justice. I mean attempts to lure a witness into conversations respecting the subject of his testimony; of this we have seen many very blameable instances in the course of the present circuit, where conversations have been set on foot for the purpose of catching at some particular expressions, inadvertently dropt by a witness, and of afterwards bringing them forward, separately and detached from the rest of the conversation, in order to give a different colour and complexion to the substance of his evidence, and to weaken the effect and credit of the whole.

Gentlemen, these attempts are too commonly made; happily,

happily, however, for public justice, they are commonly unsuccessful; because they do and must, with every honourable mind, recoil upon the party making them. Private applications to a person not only known to be an adverse witness, but to be the very witness upon whose credit the prosecution most materially depends; private conversations with such a witness, for the purpose of getting from him declarations which may be afterwards opposed in seeming contradiction to his solemn testimony upon oath, are of themselves so dishonourable that with every well-disposed and well-judging mind, they will naturally produce an effect directly contrary to the expectations of the persons who make them.

I know, Gentlemen, what I have most to fear upon this occasion; I know the vigour and energy of the mind of my learned friend. I have long felt and admired the powerful effect of his various talents. I know the ingenious sophistry by which he can mislead, and the fascination of that eloquence by which he can subdue the minds of those to whom he addresses himself. I know what he can do to-day, by seeing what he has done upon many other occasions before. But, at the same time, Gentlemen, knowing what he is, I am somewhat consoled in knowing you. I have practised for several years in this place; I know the sound discretion and judgment by which your verdicts are generally governed, and upon the credit of that experience, I trust that it will not be in the power of my friend, by any arts he is able to employ, to seduce you a single step from the sober paths of truth and justice. You will hear the evidence with the attention which becomes men who are deciding on the fate of others. If these defendants be innocent, and my learned friend is able to substantiate their innocence, to your satisfaction, for God's sake let them be acquitted; but if that innocence cannot be clearly and satisfactorily established, I stand here interested as I am in common with him in the acquittal of innocence, at the same time however demanding the rights of public justice against the guilty. It imports the safety of yourselves, it imports the safety of our country, it emports the existence and security of every thing that is dear to us, if these men be not innocent, that no considerations of tenderness and humanity, no considerations of any sort short of what the actual abstract justice of the case may require, should prevent the hand of punishment from falling heavy on them.

Having, therefore, Gentlemen, given you this short detail and explanation of the principal facts which are about to be laid before you in evidence, I will now close the trouble I mean to give you, in the first intance. I shall by and by,

by, when my learned friend has adduced that evidence by which he will attempt to assail the character and credit of the principal witness for the prosecution, have an opportunity of addressing you again; and, I trust, in the mean time, that whatever attention you may be disposed to pay to the exertions of those who will labour to establish the innocence of the persons now arraigned before you, that you will, at the same time, steadily bear in mind the duties which you owe to yourselves and to your country; recollecting, as I am sure you will, that we all look up to your firmness and integrity at this moment, for the protection of that constitution from which we derive every blessing we individually or collectively enjoy.

EVIDENCE FOR THE CROWN.

Thomas Dunn (sworn).

Examined by Mr. *Wood*.

Q. I believe you are a weaver, and live at Manchester?
A. Yes.
Q. Were you at any time introduced to any society at Mr. Walker's house there?
A. Yes, I was.
Q. Do you recollect when it was?
A. I believe in the latter end of September in the year 1792.
Q. Who was you introduced by?
A. Mᶜ Callum and Smith.
Q. What was this society called?
A. The Reformation Society.
Q. What is become of Mᶜ Callum and Smith?
A. I cannot tell; the last time I saw them they told me they were going to America.
Q. What number of people might there be when you was first introduced?
A. Sometimes there were more, sometimes less; I cannot tell to the exact number.
Q. How many do you think there were the first time, when you were introduced by Mᶜ Callum and Smith?
A. Perhaps fifty or sixty.
Q. Were you all in the same room, or in different rooms?
A. In different rooms.
Q. How many different rooms might you be in?
A. In two, as far as I can recollect, that night.
Q. What was going forward in these different rooms?
A. As far as I could see there were politics spoken of, and other men were learning discipline.
Q. What had they to learn their discipline with?
A. Firelocks.
Q. How many might there be learning their discipline?
A. About six or seven.
Q. Was that in the room in which they were talking politics?
A. No, in a different room.
Q. Do you recollect what sort of politics were talked?
A. They were reading a paper; I cannot exactly tell the words; the whole of the meeting was entirely with respect to a reformation in parliament; the motive was entirely that, as far as I could understand.

A. Did

Q. Did you say the motive was entirely that?

A. Yes, as far as I could understand it that night.

Q. How long might you be there that night?

A. I cannot recollect the time; I never stopped above an hour or two there, my employ called me that I could not come there before eight o'clock; I commonly went back again to get home about ten.

Q. When was the next time you was there?

A. I went there the Monday following.

Q. Was Monday the day of meeting?

A. Yes, the particular day.

Q. Did you see Mr. Walker at that time?

A. Not the first day I did not; I saw him the second time.

Q. Where did you see him?

A. I knocked at his door, and I met him at the door within the house.

Q. What did Mr. Walker say to you?

A. He wanted to know my business. I told him I wished to go to the society; he said he perceived I was an Irishman; I said, yes I was; he said, had I any account from Ireland lately, and how the Volunteers were going on? I told him I thought they were going on very prosperous; upon that he just waved his hand, and said, *we would overthrow the constitution by and by;* upon that I went up to the society room; there was a candle and candlestick in every passage up the stairs.

Q. Did you see any body there?

A. Yes, a great many people.

Q. How many do you suppose there were at that time?

A. I think there might be above a hundred and fifty there that night.

Q. What were they doing?

A. Some one thing, some another; there were about fifteen or sixteen under arms.

Q. What were they doing under arms?

A. Going through the manual exercise.

Q. Was there any body there to instruct them in it?

A. O yes, one Oliver Pearsall.

Q. Did Mr. Walker come among you?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you remember one Samuel Jackson?

A. Yes.

Q. Was he there at this time?

A. I don't know but he might come there.

Q. Do you know whether he was there or not?

A. I actually cannot tell whether I saw him there at that time or not.

Q. Was

Q. Was there any thing done at that meeting except learning the exercise?

A. No.

Q. How long might you stay that night?

A. Not very long, I never stopped very long.

Q. Did you go again after that?

A. Yes, very often.

Q. Did you see Mr. Walker there?

A. Yes, every night; I never missed Mr. Walker but one night.

Q. Did you ever hear Mr. Walker say any thing relative to what was going forward there about these people learning the use of arms?

A. I do not know what you mean.

Q. You have said, there were people there learning their exercise.

A. Yes.

Q. Have you heard Mr. Walker say for what purpose it was?

A. Yes, I have.

Q. What did he say?

A. I have heard him say so far as this, that it was his intention and the design was to forward and to aid the French, if they would land here.

Q. Do you know Cheetham?

A. Yes, very well.

Q. And Booth?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you see them there?

A. Yes.

Q. And Paul?

A. Yes, I saw him there.

Q. Did you see them there frequently, or only once, or twice?

A. Frequently.

Q. Did you see Collier there?

A. I did.

Q. Have you ever seen Jackson at any of these meetings?

A. O yes, he was a very great reader in politics.

Q. Did he read to the people that were there?

A. Yes.

Q. What sort of books might he read?

A. Paine's Works, and a man, I forget him now, and Cooper's Reply to Mr. Burke's Invective, and other matters; he always had something new.

Q. Was it declared what was the intent of this society?

A. I absolutely just will inform you, candidly, in my opinion, as far as I can learn, when I came to understand myself

self properly, that it was to overthrow the whole consitution.

Q. Did you understand it so?

A. I understand it so now, but not at that time.

Q. What did you understand then was the object and design of this meeting?

A. I understood at that time that it was to serve poor people.

Q. How were the poor people to be served?

A. By association together, I thought, and to have so far as this to be neighbourly, and no further; I thought so.

Q. Did you ever hear any thing said about the Irish or the Scotch?

A. At what time?

Q. At any of those meetings?

A. Yes, I did.

Q. What was said about them?

A. I recollect to hear a letter read, an address from the United Irishmen to Scotland.

Q. Who read that?

A. Mr. Paul I think, to the best of my recollection; it was either he, or Jackson; but however, Mr. Paul came out with these expressions, which I will relate to the whole court; the matter stood thus, when the letter was read I cannot say, whether he or Paul might read it himself I cannot pretend to say, but Mr. Paul said, that if ever we should have a revolt, it would be from the Irish; he says, I have property in Ireland myself, and he wondered the Irishmen there mentioned did not exert themselves more than they did do; I happened to be the very next man to him, I said, I am an Irishman myself; he said, I know you are, he said, if ever we should have a revolt, it should be through the Irish; they have sent a deputy to Ireland as a King; damn him, said he, and all Kings.

Q. Do you remember Mr. Yorke—Henry Yorke?

A. Yes I do; I will not pretend to say that I should know the man; I never saw him but one night for about an hour.

Q. Who was he introduced by?

A. By Mr. Thomas Walker.

Q. What was he introduced for?

A. It was that very night that he happened to come, it happened to be very thin of people; but howsoever he was introduced, and took by his arm into our place; he was introduced as a Gentleman of the same principles; and all hands were put up that he should be the chairman.

Q. And did he take the chair?

A. He did.

Q. What did he say to you?

A. He

A. He mentioned he was glad to see so many loyalists; he was glad to see so many friends; he had just come from Sheffield; he said he was only a short time from France; that he lay a fortnight in Paine's house in Paris. At this time there were different opinions, with respect to whether they should draw up a petition to recommend for a reform; he said, there was that height of petitions *(describing it)* from Scotland and other parts.

Q. Had he those petitions with him?

A. No, he told us it was so in Sheffield, different copies; he said nothing will do but a reform—a reformation then was clapped—he said, that he was going through the three kingdoms, to see what aid they could have to assist the French, if they should land here.

Mr. *Erskine.* Repeat that over again.

A. To aid and assist, to know the aid that might be for the French.

Mr. *Wood.* Did he say any thing about the number of French that might be expected?

A. Fifty thousand.

Q. Were there a great many members present that night?

A. Not a great many, I cannot say the exact number; there might be about fifty, it was a very wet night, I recollect that.

Q. Was there any exercises learned that night?

A. Yes, there was.

Q. How many different meetings might you attend in all, think you?

A. I dare say forty or fifty, I can be safe upon that.

Q. Do you remember Benjamin Booth's being taken into custody?

A. I do.

Q. Did you apply to the society upon that occasion?

A. I did.

Q. What was your application for him?

A. To get him some money.

Q. Did you get any money for him?

A. There was some money got for him that night.

Q. Do you remember being there at any other time, when there was any conversation about the King?

A. Many times; I do not suppose there was any night but there was something of that kind.

Q. Recollect something that was said about the King.

A. Upon what night?

Q. When any thing was said about the King.

A. I remember being there one night in particular, when Mr.

Mr. Thomas Walker was speaking with respect to war; he disapproved of the war entirely, and he thought the ministry was highly to blame, and the whole to involve us in a war. That he had seventeen million of money in the Bank of Vienna.

Q. Who had seventeen million of money?

A. The King, in the Bank of Vienna, and he would not give one penny to serve the poor; damn him, and all kings. He had a bit of paper in his hand; he said, he would as soon take his head off as he would that, and he tore the paper.

Q. Do you recollect how many people were present then?

A. I cannot pretend to say how many there were.

Q. Did you hear any thing said that night about Ireland?

A. I do not recollect I did.

Q. Did you hear him at any other time say any thing about Ireland? did you hear William Paul say any thing?

A. I mentioned that; I will say it over again, if you please.

Q. Do so.

A. There was an address of the United Irishmen to Scotland.

Q. You said that before; do you remember being at a meeting after the death of the late French King?

A. Yes.

Q. Who was there then?

A. A good many.

Q. Was Collier there?

A. Yes, he came in, we were discoursing the matter, and all rejoicing upon it; he came into the place; he thought he was the first, in one sense, to announce to the company that it was so; he passed round, he damned him, and wished all kings were served so.

Q. Do you remember whether Jackson recommended any thing to the meeting?

A. He recommended every thing to be very candid, and keep every thing very secret, that we should be unanimous one to another.

Q. Did you go openly and publicly to Mr. Walker's house?

A. No, latterly we went there as private as possible since.

Q. Which door did you go in at?

A. At the back door.

Q. Since what time was it that you went privately?

A. Since it was known so publicly, that we were called Painites,

Painites, when we were turned out of the public-houses, that we could not meet there.

Q. Then you went to Mr. Walker's?

A. Yes, he opened that house for us.

Q. What door did you go in at?

A. The back door in general; I never went in at the front door in my life, but at the second time.

Q. Did others go in at the back door or not?

A. Some went in at the front, some at the back door.

Q. What were you afraid of?

A. I was afraid, as much as any thing, of the constables.

Q. Do you know whether they were watching you or not?

A. I knew they were.

Q. What constables were watching you?

A. The different constables of the town; I think the deputy of Salford was watching us as much as any body. Mr. Walker sent out different men to watch them; there are men in the bar, that if they would speak the truth, know they went out to watch them.

Thomas Dunn.

Cross-examined by Mr. *Erskine.*

Q. What is your Christian name?

A. Thomas Dunn.

Q. Why do you call it your Christian name?

A. I was brought up by that.

Q. Was you ever christened?

A. I hope so.

Q. Then you forgot that circumstance *formerly*—do you hear me?

A. Yes.

Q. You forgot that circumstance once of your having been christened.

A. Have I? how long since?

Q. Do you remember ever having been asked the question?

A. I remember you asked me what my name was, and I answered you that my name was Thomas Dunn.

Q. Was you never asked at any other time, and by any body else?

A. Very well, and suppose I choose to tell this or that.

Q. But you happened to be upon your oath at the time I am speaking of.

A. I am speaking now, that my name is Thomas Dunn, and

and upon my oath I am speaking, I know what you are upon Mr. Erskine; I tell you in this place, that I defy you, though the learned Mr. Erskine is come down here to insult me.

Mr. Justice *Heath.* You must behave properly.

A. I have served his Majesty for years, and would serve him to day; is Mr. Erskine to disprove my name?

Mr. Justice *Heath.* You must not put yourself in a passion, but behave decently.

Mr. *Erskine.* I wish this worthy gentleman may be left to himself, subject only to your Lordship's interposition when he misbehaves. You will find I am not so easily put out, as you fancy; therefore I will resume my question again: Was you never asked, when you was sworn to speak the truth, whether you had been christened or not, and what answer did you give?

A. No, never in my life.

Q. Do you mean to swear, that such a question was never put to you in a court of justice, when you came forward to convict one of these innocent men that you are now a witness against?

A. Innocent!

Q. That his Lordship and the Jury are to try. Was that question ever put to you, and did you give it any, and what answer? I am in no hurry; his Lordship will have the goodness to wait for you.

A. If you will speak the words over again.

Q. Was you never asked, when sworn upon the Gospels to speak the truth, whether you were christened or no, and what answer did you give?

A. I tell you I never was in my life.

Q. Never was what?

A. I never was asked whether I was christened or not*.

Q. You can read, I take it for granted?

A. No, I can neither read nor write.

Q. There is something wrote up there, *(opposite the witness box)* which otherwise I would have recommended to your perusal†?

A. I am quite an illiterate man.

Q. Who was it that told you I was come down here for the purpose of insulting you?

A. What, Mr. Erskine.

Q. You seem perfectly familiar with my name.

A. Yes, and I know your person too.

Q. Who

* When Benjamin Booth was convicted at the Manchester Sessions, *upon Dunn's sole evidence*, Dunn was asked if he had ever been baptized; to which he replied in the negative.

† "Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour."

Q. Who told you that?

A. No gentleman here told me.

Q. How came you to know?

A. I was acquainted the night before last where you lodged at Preston.

Q. Who told you so?

A. The landlord, that you and Mr. Walker were there together.

Q. You never knew any thing of me before that?

A. O yes, I saw you before; I know more of you than you fancy.

Q. Did you ever see me before or not?

A. I saw your picture.

Q. That is all?

A. Yes.

Q. Was that all you meant when you said you knew more of me than I fancied?

A. No, I could tell you more. *(Here Mr. Justice Heath interrupted Mr. Erskine by saying we have nothing to do with this.)*

Q. It was in the month of September you first went to this meeting?

A. I do not know but it might.

Q. Do you mean to swear that it was?

A. No, I do not mean to swear about it.

Q. Do you know what month it was in?

A. No.

Q. Do you know what year it was in?

A. In 1792.

Q. Do you remember the riot at Manchester?

A. Yes.

Q. When Mr. Walker's house was surrounded and attacked?

A. I remember to have heard of it.

Q. Was it before or after that?

A. After.

Q. You are certain of that?

A. Very certain.

Q. The first time you was at this society was after the riot?

A. Yes.

Q. How long do you think it might be after the riot, some weeks, was it not?

A. I think it was a few days.

Q. Are you quite sure it was after the riot?

A. Yes.

Q. And you think about a few days?

A. Yes.

Q. Which society did you belong to?

A. The

A. The Reformation Society.

Q. Was you elected into it, or did you go upon the invitation of any body?

A. I went upon the invitation of one Smith and Mc Callum.

Q. Nobody else knew you there, of course, that constituted this society?

A. I knew two or three of them when I went in.

Q. The rest were strangers to you?

A. Yes.

Q. So much so, that you did not even know their names, nor they you?

A. I knew them by sight; their names I did not know.

Q. At the next meeting you saw Mr. Walker?

A. Yes.

Q. At the door of his house, I think you tell us, you met him. Was he acquainted with you, or you with him?

A. I never saw the man in my life before, not to know him.

Q. He found out that you were an Irishman by your tongue, of course?

A. Yes.

Q. And asked your business?

A. Yes.

Q. You told him you were going to the society?

A. Yes.

Q. Were Smith or Mc Callum with you at that time?

A. No person but myself.

Q. Then Mr. Walker knew nothing of you but what you told him?

A. Just so.

Q. He asked you whether you had heard from Ireland lately about the Volunteers?

A. Yes.

Q. And immediately upon that he rapped out what you told us a little while ago about the constitution?

A. Yes.

Q. And then you went to the society, and Mr. Yorke took the chair?

A. It was not that night that Mr. Yorke took the chair.

Q. How long after was it that Mr. Yorke took the chair?

A. A very little time after.

Q. What passed the night of the day you saw Mr. Walker?

A. Nothing transpired more than was customary in the place.

Q. You said it appeared to you the object of the meeting was a reform of parliament for the benefit of the poor?

A. I

A. I thought so at the first go off, or I should never have joined it.

Q. You was not a man of those bad principles, was you?

A. I do not know what you may call bad principles.

Q. You was not a man that would wish to overthrow the constitution, was you?

A. No, I absolutely was not never to overturn it; I think we never could have a better.

Q. So I think too. Then you always was of that mind?

A. Yes, I was always of that principle.

Q. That it would be better to reform our constitution by petitions to parliament to reform it, than to overthrow it?

A. Yes, but I never saw a design of that in our society.

Q. You never saw a design to overturn the constitution?

A. No, I never saw any design, or the least motion moved to petition parliament for a reform.

Q. How many times did you attend?

A. I cannot tell the number; but I dare say forty or fifty.

Q. During all the time you met, what do you believe was the intention of these people?

A. I believed at the first go off, that it was for a reform; that a petition might be sent up to parliament, for a reform in parliament; then I perceived every thing that was to overthrow the constitution.

Q. How soon did you find out this?

A. I forsook it as soon as ever I found it out.

Q. When you found that they did not mean a petition to parliament, you determined to have nothing more to do with it after that?

A. No.

Q. Then how came you ever to go again, when Mr. Walker, who was at the head of it, told you before, when you went there the second time, that he would overthrow the constitution by and by?

A. I did not conceive the word; I was not absolutely up to that word; I did not know the meaning of the word, till late.

Q. So, when he asked you how the Volunteers were going on, and you told him, very well, he said, we shall overthrow the constitution by and by; what did you think he meant?

A. I did not know what he meant; I thought we might have a reform; that was what I wanted.

Q. You thought when Mr. Walker said, we shall overthrow

throw the constitution by and by, that he meant a reform?

A. I did indeed, upon my oath.

Q. When you heard him say, that he would think no more of cutting the King's head off, than he would of tearing a piece of paper, you still thought he was perfectly friendly to the constitution?

A. A letter was read with respect to the King of France; I did not know but he might be guilty; they had every information from France.

Q. I am not talking of the King of France.

A. No, I am speaking that there were letters every night that the society met, coming from France. I thought he was perfectly right.

Q. I am not speaking of the King of France, but of our King. When you heard Mr. Walker say, that he should think no more, as you tell us, of cutting the King of England's head off, than of tearing a piece of paper, how came you to go afterwards?

A. Many things might induce me.

Q. You was always a Friend to the King and Constitution?

A. Yes I always served his Majesty, and will serve him still.

Q. And always thought, till you left the society, that they were people that meant well to government, and meant to reform?

A. Yes.

Q. You having served the King by sea and land, having fought for him, and being ready to fight for him again, how came you to go within the walls of that place, after hearing Mr. Walker make use of those expressions of him, and hearing those other persons talk in the manner you say that they did, of your own sovereign? You attended forty or fifty times after that, you say?

A. Suppose I did, perhaps I went there to learn; I don't know what I might do.

Q. After you had been present and heard, according to your own account, abominable treason against the chief magistrate of the country, your own gracious Sovereign, you went there to learn, did you? Now when you heard Mr. Yorke say he was going through the three kingdoms, to know what force could be collected among the different societies, to bring in the French, and to aid them, if the French landed, how came you to go to this place as a lover of your King and country?

A. I own myself in a fault to attend them.

Q. You said just now, you thought at first going off they were

were good people, and you never left them till you found the contrary; now did you leave them, did you voluntarily go and give any information about what you knew in this place, or did you not continue with the society as you began it, till you was taken up and put in custody?

A. I was not put in custody.

Q. Was you taken up?

A. Yes.

Q. You was arrested?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you ever open your mouth, friend as you was to your King, and a lover of your country, after you heard these people damning the King every night for months, that the chairman stated he would go round and collect force to destroy his Majesty, and bring in the French, did you ever utter one syllable of this till you was taken up and arrested?

A. I was arrested, but not put in custody.

Q. Was you not carried before a magistrate?

A. I was; I will acknowledge every thing that is lawful and just.

Q. So, all this time you was a perfect good friend to your King and country?

A. I had an opinion quite different a long time before.

Q. In what?

A. Against what I saw; I did not like the French; I think if they were to come here, if we had the same as they are getting in France, we should be very bad.

Q. So we all think; so you always did?

A. I did not always; not for some little time, a very little time.

Q. I suppose you stayed in the society a great while after you saw all this?

A. No, I did not; there was one or another hanging after me to belong to the society.

Q. Did not you stay in the society, and attend the meetings, till you was taken up for distributing a paper?

A. It was a considerable time before that.

Q. Had you never given an account of any thing you are giving to-day, till after you was taken up and carried before a magistrate?

A. No.

Q. You was never in prison?

A. No, never in my life.

Q. Nor threatened to be imprisoned?

A. No.

Q. What was you taken up for?—was not you threatened to be imprisoned for distributing a hand-bill, and was not you actually in custody?

A. What

A. What kind of hand-bill?

Q. No matter what kind of hand-bill; were you not taken up and carried before Mr. Griffith?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you mean to say you was never in prison upon that?

A. No, he gave me any liberty I chose.

Q. Allowed you to go where you pleased?

A. Yes.

Q. Then you never was committed, was you?

A. No.

Q. Was not you in the New Bailey?

A. Yes.

Q. How long?

A. A considerable time.

Q. And yet not a prisoner?

A. I walked in and out as I pleased.

Q. How came you to choose to be there; what was you there for?

A. I was in dread.

Q. Of what?

A. Of the opposite party; I was in doubt whether they would not destroy me.

Q. And so you walked out when you pleased?

A. Occasionally, when I saw my own opportunity.

Q. You might have gone away where you would?

A. Certainly I might.

Q. How much drink had you the day you got into prison, before you made your confession?

A. I might have some drink.

Q. Who gave it you?

A. My own pocket.

Q. It was your own money, was it?

A. Yes.

Q. Nobody else gave you any?

A. No, upon my oath; that is plump.

Q. Nobody gave you any shrub?

A. Not that day.

Q. Who gave you the shrub the next day?

A. Suppose a gentleman was so friendly as to give me a glass of shrub, is that any thing?

Q. I am not finding fault with it. Who was it?

A. I don't know whether that is to be answered or not.

Mr. *Law.* Yes, it is.

Mr. *Erskine.* I do not wish to press the gentleman.

A. I got a glass of shrub, certainly; I do not suppose that is any material matter.

Mr. Justice *Heath.* You have nothing to do whether it is material or no; answer the question.

A. I

A. I got a glass of shrub from Mr. Griffith's house, to be sure.

Q. Tell me whether I misunderstood you, or no, that you had served the King, you wish to serve him, you love him as every subject ought to love him, and that you heard all these expressions of danger to his authority mentioned in this place, then you must necessarily have thought Mr. Walker a very dangerous and wicked man from this?

A. I always thought him a good man.

Q. Not after that, did you?

A. Yes.

Q. What! after you heard him say that he would think no more of breaking the oath which he had sworn to the King, that you think him a good man after that; then you think him a good man now, perhaps?

A. I hope there may be a reformation in him.

Q. You thought him then, no doubt, and think now, that he is a very wicked man; but you hope, as every good man should, that there may be a reformation in him?

A. That is my hope.

Q. Have you always been of that way of thinking; it is your wish he should reform; you are conscious of his wickedness; is that so? You know, if that be true, you have done nothing more than your duty to God and your country, in the oath you have taken to-day, and the oath you took before the Grand Jury, you know that.

A. I know that very well.

Q. You know you are bound to do it by every thing that is sacred; if that be so, give me leave to ask you how you came to be desirous of asking pardon of Mr. Walker for having wronged him, for having sworn falsely against him, believing him to be what you tell my Lord and these Gentlemen now: you never perhaps asked him pardon for the oath you took before the Grand Jury?

A. Never in my life.

Q. You never went down upon your knees before him, and begged for his forgiveness for the crimes which you had committed to his prejudice?

A. Never; nor I never will.

Q. You never said, did you, that you could never sleep until you had done him justice, and that you was determined to go that night to find him out?

A. No, never in my life.

Q. Then, of course, it is not true, that you went down upon your knees, that you wept, and held your hands before your face, when you confessed the perjury that you had committed?

A. I

A. I don't know what you may say; you may say just as you please.

Q. It is all a falsehood, and an invention of mine. I came down here to insult you, and am keeping my word.

A. Yes.

Q. You never said that Mr. Walker never had been guilty of any of those crimes that you had imputed to him?

A. No, I never did.

Q. It is entirely false?

A. I allow it to be false, the greatest falsehood that ever was expressed in a court.

Q. Have I understood you right, that three of them had damned the King, at the early parts of the meeting, Mr. Paul, Mr. Walker, and Mr. Jackson?

A. I do not recollect.

Q. Then do you not recollect that Mr. Jackson or Mr. Paul, damn'd the King?

A. Yes, I do very well.

Q. Mr. Collier damn'd the King?

A. Yes.

Q. Let us hear what he said. Collier is a good deal given to swearing, is not he?

A. I never heard him in my life swear before that?

Q. What did he say?

A. He came in, and walked round, and said, he is guillotined; damn him, and all kings! I wish they were all guillotined; I wish they were all served so, he said.

Thomas Dunn.

Re-examined by Mr. *Wood.*

Q. Was you introduced to Mr. Walker and his brother at any time lately?

A. Yes, I was.

Q. When was that?

A. It was, I think, a fortnight this day.

Q. Who was it that brought you to them?

A. One Twiss.

Q. Who is he?

A. He lives close by him.

Q. Is he a servant of Mr. Walker's?

A. He works for him, I think.

Q. When you was brought there to Mr. Walker, what did they say to you?

A. They did not say a great deal, only two or three words

words passed; Richard Walker said he wondered I should deviate from my former principles, what he had taken me to be.

Q. Was there only Thomas Walker there, and Richard Walker, and Twiss?

A. I do not recollect any more. There were some words in the indictment, he said, that were not right, and I corrected them the next day.

Q. You mean the information, I suppose.

Mr. Serjeant *Cockell.* What has Richard Walker to do with Mr. Thomas Walker?

Mr. *Wood.* Was Mr. Thomas Walker there?

A. He was.

Mr. *Erskine.* I have no objection to your asking him any thing about Richard Walker.

Q. Did you never go by the name of Litchfield?

A. No, never.

Q. Where were these arms placed?

A. In the warehouse.

Mr. *Wood.* How high was the warehouse?

A. Three or four stories high.

Q. At a considerable height?

A. Yes.

Q. Could they shoulder their arms in it?

A. Yes.

Mr. *Erskine.* Pretty near as high as this place?

A. Not quite.

Thomas Kinnaston (sworn).

Examined by Mr. *Topping.*

Q. You are, I believe, the deputy-constable of Salford?

A. Yes.

Q. And have been so some time?

A. Some years.

Q. Do you remember at any time in the months of January and February last, watching about the house of Mr. Thomas Walker?

A. Yes, in the months of January and February 1793, I did.

Q. You watched as a constable, for the purpose of seeing who went in and out there?

A. I did.

Q. At what time of the night have you used to watch there?

A. I went a little after six, and generally stayed till nine.

Q. Did you watch repeatedly during these months?

A. Yes,

A. Yes, I went frequently, once or twice a week.

Q. Upon the nights that you have used to watch there, once or twice a week, who have you seen go into Mr. Walker's house?

A. I saw a great number that I did not know. I saw the late witness, Dunn, go in.

Q. Have you seen Mc Callum go in?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you know John Smith?

A. No.

Q. Do you know William Paul?

A. Yes, well.

Q. Have you seen him go in?

A. Yes.

Q. Have you seen Samuel Jackson?

A. Yes.

Q. Cheetham?

A. Yes.

Q. Oliver Pearsall?

A. Yes, I did not know him at that time; I have since known his name.

Q. Benjamin Booth?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you know Henry Yorke?

A. No.

Q. Do you know Dr. Collier?

A. He lives next door to Mr. Walker.

Q. You don't recollect whether you have seen him or not?

A. No.

Q. Have you seen these people repeatedly go into Mr. Walker's upon the nights you have been watching?

A. I have, some of them many times.

Q. Which door had they used to go in at?

A. At the front door.

Q. Have you seen them come out?

A. Yes, I have seen them come out.

Q. How had they used to come out?

A. At the same door.

Q. How were they admitted?

A. A very gentle tap at the door; there appeared to me to be a servant attending at the door, who seemed to know their faces perfectly well.

Q. How long had they used to remain there?

A. From the time I saw them go in, to the time of their coming out, has been more than two hours; they sometimes came out and went in again.

Q. And sometimes stayed a longer, sometimes a shorter time, I suppose?

A. Yes.

A. Yes.

Q. Have you seen various other persons besides the persons you mentioned, go there?

A. I saw a great number of persons whom I did not know.

Q. How many in number do you think you have seen go in of an evening?

A. I believe I have seen more than fifty.

Q. Were these tradesmen of the town that you were acquainted with, or of the lower class of people?

A. A great majority seemed to be of the lower class of people; they appeared to me a great majority to be mechanics of the lower order.

Q. Did you never see them come in or go out at any door but at the front door?

A. I have seen people come out, but they might be his servants out of the warehouse, come out of the back door.

Q. You have seen people come out at the back door?

A. I have, but they might be Mr. Walker's servants for aught I know.

Thomas Kinnaston.

Cross-examined by Mr. Serjeant *Cockell.*

Q. Did you ever knock at the door?

A. I never did.

Q. Where might you stand at this time—you are rather hard of hearing?

A. I am.

Q. How did you hear this very gentle tap?

A. I was not deaf then.

Q. Was you close to the door?

A. There was a wall close to the door; I leaned against that wall frequently.

Q. Did you know the persons of these men—had you seen them before?

A. Yes many times.

Q. Where had you seen them before?

A. Frequently in the streets.

Q. Don't you know they had their clubs at public-houses, and till they got a room, it was held at Mr. Walker's?

A. I never saw them at the public-houses; I believe I should not have been admitted.

Q. Were those persons that you saw go into Mr. Walker's house, members of the club?

A. I believe they were.

Q. They were prevented holding the clubs at the public-houses?

A. I

A. I do not know that.

Q. You must know that.

A. No, I was not present.

Q. Have not you seen the public advertisements appearing in the papers?

A. I have.

Q. Do not you know that these clubs were transferred to Mr. Walker's house, till they could find some place at which to meet?

A. I do not upon my word; I know the landlords signed their names in the public papers, that they would not admit such clubs, but I know nothing of the adjournments.

Q. Do not you know, that after the landlords had so refused to receive them, at the desire of the magistrates, that they met at a private house, which was attacked by a mob and in a great measure destroyed?

A. No, I do not.

Thomas Kinnaston.

Re-examined by Mr. *Topping.*

Q. You had not an opportunity, from the situation in which you was out of doors, of observing any thing that was going on above stairs?

A. No; Mr. Walker's warehouse windows are in the yard at the back part of the house.

End of the Evidence for the Crown.

Mr.

Mr. *Erskine.*

Gentlemen of the Jury,

I listened with the greatest attention (and in honour of my learned friend I must say with the greatest approbation) to much of his address to you in the opening of this Cause; it was candid and manly, and contained many truths which I have no interest to deny; one in particular which involves in it indeed the very principle of the defence, the value of that happy constitution of government which has so long existed in this island: I hope in God that none of us will ever forget the gratitude which we owe to the Divine Providence, and, under its blessing, to the wisdom of our forefathers, for the happy establishment of law and justice under which we live; and under which, thank God, my clients are this day to be judged: great indeed will be the condemnation of any man who does not feel and act as he ought to do upon this subject; for surely if there be one privilege greater than another which the benevolent Author of our beings has been pleased to dispense to his creatures since the existence of the earth which we inhabit, it is to have cast our lots in such a country and in such an age as that in which we live: for myself, I would in spirit prostrate myself daily and hourly before heaven to acknowledge it, and instead of coming from the house of Mr. Walker, and accompanying him at Preston, (the only truths which the witness has uttered since he came into court) if I believed him capable of committing the crimes he is charged with, I would rather have gone into my grave than have been found as a friend under his roof.

Gentlemen, the crime imputed to the defendant is a serious one indeed:—Mr. Law has told you, and told you truly, that this indictment has not at all for its object to condemn or to question the particular opinions which Mr. Walker and the other defendants may entertain concerning the principles of this government or the reforms which the wisest governments may from time to time require: he is indeed a man of too enlarged a mind to think for a moment that his country can be served by interrupting the current of liberal opinion, or overawing the legal freedom of English sentiment by the terrors of criminal prosecution: he openly disavows such a system, and has, I think, even more than hinted to us that there may be seasons when an attention to reform may be salutary, and that every

every individual under our happy establishment has a right upon this important subject to think for himself.

The defendants therefore are not arraigned before you, nor even censured in observation, for having associated at Manchester to promote what they felt to be the cause of religious and civil liberty; nor are they arraigned or censured for seeking to collect the sentiments of their neighbours and the public concerning the necessity of a reform in the constitution of parliament; these sentiments and objects are wholly out of the question: but they are charged with having unlawfully confederated and conspired to destroy and overthrow the government of the kingdom by OPEN FORCE AND REBELLION, and that to effect this wicked purpose they exercised the King's subjects with arms, perverting that which is our birthright for the protection of our lives and property to the malignant purpose of supporting the enemies of this kingdom in case of an invasion; in order, as my friend has truly said, (for I admit the consequence if the fact is established,) in order to make our country that scene of confusion and desolation which fills every man's heart with dismay and horror when he only reads or thinks of what is transacting at a distance upon the bloody theatre of the war that now reigns in the world. This, and nothing different or less than this, is the charge which is made upon the defendants, at the head of whom stands before you a merchant of honour, property, character, and respect; who has long enjoyed the countenance and friendship of many of the worthiest and most illustrious persons in the kingdom, and whose principles and conduct have more than once been publicly and gratefully acknowledged by the community of which he is a member, for standing forth the friend of their commerce and liberties and the protector of the most essential privileges which Englishmen can enjoy under the laws.

Gentlemen, such a prosecution against such a person ought to have had a strong foundation; and, indeed, putting private justice and all respect of persons wholly out of the question, should not, but upon the most clear conviction and the most urgent necessity, have been instituted at all: we are at this moment in a most awful and fearful crisis of affairs; we are told authentically by the Sovereign from the throne that our enemies in France are meditating an invasion, and the kingdom from one end to another is putting in motion to repel it:—in such a state of things, and when the public transactions of government and justice in the two countries pass and repass from one another as if upon the wings of the wind, is it a politic thing to prepare this solemn array of justice upon such a dangerous

dangerous subject without a reasonable foundation, or rather without an urgent call, and at a time too when it is our common interest that France should believe us to be what we are and ever have been, one heart and soul to protect our country and our constitution?—Is it wise or prudent, putting private justice wholly out of the question, that it should appear to the councils of France, apt enough to exaggerate advantages, that the judge representing the government in the northern district of this kingdom should be sitting here in judgment in the presence of all the gentlemen whose property lies in the country, assembled, I observe, upon the occasion, and very properly, to witness so interesting a process, to trace and to punish the existence of a rebellious conspiracy to support an invasion from France? A conspiracy not existing in a single district alone, but maintaining itself by criminal concert and correspondence in every district, town, and city in the kingdom; projecting nothing less than the utter destruction and subversion of all the authorities of the country: Good God! can it be for the interest of government that such a state of this country should go forth?—Unfortunately the rumour and effect of this day's business will spread where the evidence may not travel with it to serve as an antidote to the mischief; for, certainly it never will nor can be believed in France, or in Europe, who know the spirit of our laws, what we are witnesses to to-day;—it never will be credited that all this serious process has no foundation either in fact or probability, and that it stands upon the single evidence of a common soldier, or rather a common vagabond, discharged as unfit to be a soldier; a wretch, lost to every sense of God and religion, who avows, that he has none for either, and who is incapable of observing even common decency as a witness in the court: this will never be believed, and the country, whose best strength at home and abroad is the opinion and confidence of soundness in all its members, will suffer from the credit which government will receive for the justice of this proceeding.

What then can be more beneficial than that you should make haste as public and private men to undeceive the world, to do justice to your fellow subjects, and vindicate your country:—what can be more beneficial than that you, as honest men, should upon your oaths pronounce and record by your verdict, that however Englishmen may differ in religious opinions, which in such a land of thinking ever must be the case; that however they may separate in political speculations as to the wisest and best formation of a house of commons; that though some may think highly

of

of the church and its establishment, whilst others, but with equal sincerity, prefer the worship of God with other ceremonies, or without any ceremonies; that though some may think that it is unsafe to touch the constitution at this particular moment, and some that at no time it is safe to touch it, while others think that its very existence depends upon immediate reformation, and that this is of all seasons the wisest for men of rank and property, while yet they have authority and influence, to employ these high trusts of high station for the universal good; what can be more beneficial than that your verdict should establish that though the country is thus divided upon these political subjects, as it ever has been in every age and period of our history, yet that we all recollect that we live in the land which our fathers have left us as an inheritance, that we all know and feel we have one common duty and one common interest, and that we are all ready to stand or fall by our country: this will be the language of your verdict whatever you yourselves may think upon these topics connected with, but still collateral to the cause:—whether you shall approve or disapprove of the opinions or objects of the defendants, I know that you will still with one mind revolt with indignation at the evidence you have heard, when you shall have heard also the observations I have to make upon it, and, what is far more important, the facts I shall bring forward to encounter it; to these last words I beg your particular attention; I say when you shall hear *the facts with which I mean to encounter the evidence*, because my learned friend has supposed that I had nothing with which to support the cause, but by railing at his witness and endeavouring to traduce his character by calling others to reproach it: he has said that I could encounter his testimony by *no one fact*, but that he had only to apprehend the influence which my address might have upon you; as if I, an utter stranger here, could have any possible weight or influence, to oppose to him who has been so long known and honoured in this place.

But although my learned friend seems to have expected no adverse evidence, he appears to have been apprehensive for the credit and consistency of his own; for he has told you that we have drawn this man into a lure not uncommon for the purpose of entrapping witnesses into a contradiction of testimony; that we have ensnared him into the company of persons who have drawn him in by insiduous questions, and written down what he has been made to declare to them in destruction of his original evidence, for the wicked purpose of attacking the sworn testimony of truth and cutting down the consequences which would

would have followed from it to the defendants. If such a scene of wickedness has been practised it must be known to the witness himself, yet my learned friend will recollect that though he made this charge in his hearing before his examination, he has positively denied the whole of it; for I put it to him point by point, pursuing the opening as my guide: the witness denies that he has been drawn into any lure; he denies that any trap has been laid for him; he denies that he has been asked any questions by any body;—if I am mistaken I desire to be corrected, and particularly so by my learned friend, because I wish to state it as it is;—he has then denied all these things; he has further sworn that he never acknowledged to Mr. Walker that he had wronged or injured him, or that the evidence he had given against him was false; that he never had gone down upon his knees in his presence, to implore his forgiveness; that he never held his hands before his face to hide the tears that were flowing down his face in the moment of contrition, or of terror at the consequence of his crimes: all this he has positively and repeatedly sworn in answer to questions deliberately put to him; and instead of answering with doubt or as trying to recollect whether any thing approaching such a representation had happened, he put his hands to his sides and laughed, as you saw, at me who put the questions, with that sneer of contempt and insolence which has accompanied the whole of his evidence, on my part at least of his examination:—if nothing therefore was at stake but the destruction of this man's evidence and with it the prosecution which rests for its whole existence upon it, I should proceed at once to confound him with testimony, the truth of which my learned friend himself will I am sure not bring into question; but as I wish the whole conduct of my clients to stand fairly before you and not to rest merely upon positive swearing destructive of positive testimony, and as I wish the evidence I mean to bring before you and the falsehood of that which it opposes to be clearly understood, I will state to you how it has happened that this strange prosecution has come before you.

The town of Manchester has been long extremely divided in religious and civil opinions, and while I wish to vindicate those whom I represent in this place I desire not to inflame differences which I hope in a short season will be forgotten; I wish on the contrary that every thing which proceeds from me may be the means of conciliating rather than exasperating dissentions which have already produced much mischief and which perhaps but for the lesson of to-day might have produced much more.

Gentlemen, you all know that there have been for centuries past in this country various sects of Christains worshipping God in different forms, and holding a diversity of religious opinions; and that the law has for a long season deprived numerous classes, even of his Majesty's protestant subjects, of privileges which it confers upon the rest of the public, setting as it were a mark upon them and keep them below the level of the community by shutting them out from offices of trust and confidence in the country: whether these laws be wise or unwise, whether they ought to be continued or abolished, are questions for the legislature and not for us; but thus much I am warranted in saying, that it is the undoubted privilege of every man or class of men in England, to petition parliament for the removal of any system or law, which either actually does aggrieve or which is thought to be a grievance: impressed with the sense of this inherent privilege this very Constitutional Society, which is supposed by my learned friend the attorney general to have started up on the breaking out of the war with France, for the purpose of destroying the constitution, this very society owed its birth to the assertion of this indisputable birth right of Englishmen, which the authors of this prosecution most rashly thought proper to stigmatize and resist. It is well known that in 1790 the Dissenters in the different parts of the kingdom were solicitous to bring before parliament their application to put an end for ever to all divisions upon religious subjects, and to make us all, what I look forward yet to see us, one harmonious body, living like one family together; it is also well remembered with what zeal and eloquence that great question was managed in the House of Commons by Mr. Fox; and the large majority with which the repeal of the Test Acts was rejected; it seems therefore strange that the period of this rejection should be considered as an Æra either of danger to the church or of religious triumph to Christians; nevertheless, a large body of gentlemen and others at Manchester, whose motives I am far from wishing to scrutinize or condemn, considered this very wish of the Dissenters as injurious to their rights, and as dangerous to the church and state; they published advertisements expressive of these sentiments, and the rejection of the bill in the commons produced a society stiled the Church and King Club, which met for the first time to celebrate what they called the glorious decision of the House of Commons in rejecting the prayer of their dissenting brethren.

Gentlemen, it is not for me to say, that it was unjust or impolitic in parliament to reject the application; but surely I may without offence suggest, that it was hardly a fit

fit subject of triumph that a great number of fellow-subjects, amounting I believe to more than a million in this country, had miscarried in an object which they thought beneficial, and which they had a most unquestionable right to submit to the government under which they lived; yet for this cause alone, (France and every other topic of controversy being yet unborn,) was the Church and King held forth to be in danger; a society instituted for their protection, and an uniform appointed with the church of Manchester upon its button.

Gentlemen, without calling for any censure upon this proceeding, but leaving it to every man's own reflection, is it to be wondered at or condemned, that those who thought more largely and liberally on subjects of freedom both civil and religious, but who found themselves persecuted for sentiments and conduct the most avowedly legal and constitutional, should associate for the support of their rights and privileges as Englishmen, and assemble to consider how they might best obtain a more adequate representation of the people of Great Britain in parliament.'

Gentlemen, this society continued with these objects in view until the issuing of the proclamation against Republicans and Levellers, calling upon the magistrates to exert themselves throughout the kingdom to avert some danger with which it seems our rulers thought this kingdom was likely to be visited; of this danger or the probability of it either *generally* or at Manchester in *particular* my learned friend has given no evidence from any quarter but that of Mr. Dunn; he has not proved that there has been in any one part of the kingdom any thing which could lead government to apprehend that meetings existed for the purposes pointed at; but that is out of the question; government had a right to think for itself and to issue the proclamation; the publicans however (as it appears upon the cross examination of the witness), probably directed by the magistrates, thought fit to shut up their houses opened by immemorial law to all the King's subjects, and to refuse admission to all the gentlemen and tradesmen of the town who did not associate under the banners of this Church and King Club: this illegal proceeding was accompanied with an advertisement containing a vehement libel against all those persons who under the protection of the laws thought themselves as much at liberty to consider their various privileges, as others were to maintain the establishment of the church. Upon this occasion Mr. Walker honourably stood forth, opened his house to this constitutional society at a time when they must otherwise have been in the streets by a combination of the publicans to reject them. Now, Gentlemen, I put it to you

you as men of honour, whether it can be justly attributed to Mr. Walker as seditious or hostile to the liberties of his country, that he opened his house to a society of Gentlemen and tradesmen, whose good principles he was acquainted with, who had been wantonly opposed by this Church and King Club, whose privileges they had never invaded or questioned, and against whom, in this day of trial, there is no man to be found who can come forward to impeach an act they have done, or a syllable they have uttered: vehement as the desire most apparently has been to bring this Gentleman and his associates as they are called to justice, yet not one magistrate, no man of property, part or figure in this town or its neighbourhood, no person having the King's authority in Manchester or the county, have appeared to prove one fact or circumstance from whence even the vaguest suspicion could arise, that any thing criminal had been intended or transacted: no constable who had ever been sent to guard lest the peace, might be broken or to make enquiries for its preservation; not a paper seized throughout England, nor any other prosecution instituted except upon the evidence of the same miserable wretch who stands before you, but the town, neighbourhood, and county, were in the same profound state of tranquillity as it is at the moment I am addressing you.

Gentlemen, at the time parliament assembled at the end of 1792, previous to the commencement of the war, these unhappy differences were suddenly (and as you will see from no fault of Mr. Walker's) brought to the crisis which produced this trial: a meeting was held in Manchester to prepare an address of thanks to the King for having embodied the militia during the recess of parliament, and for having put the kingdom into a posture of defence; and I do not seek to question the measure of government which gave rise to this approbation or the approbation itself which they had a right to bestow; but others had an equal right to entertain other opinions; on all public measures the decision undoubtedly is with government, but the people at the same time have a right to think upon them and to express what they think;—surely war of all other subjects is one which the people have a right to consider; surely it can be no offence for those whose properties were to be taxed and whose inheritances were to be lessened by it, to pause a little upon the eve of a contest, the end of which no man can foresee, the expences of which no man can calculate, nor estimate the blood to flow from its calamities; surely it is a liberty secured to us by the first principles of our constitution to address the Sovereign, or instruct

struct our representatives, to avert the greatest evil that can impend over a nation.

Gentlemen, one of those societies called the Reformation Society met to exercise this undoubted privilege, and in my mind upon the fittest occasion that ever presented itself; yet mark the moderation of Mr. Walker whose violence is arraigned before you: though he was no member of that body, and though he agreed in the propriety of the measure in agitation, yet he went to their meeting, suggested to them that their opposition might be made a pretence for tumult, that tranquillity in such a crisis was by every means to be promoted, and therefore advised them to abstain from the meeting; so that the other meeting was left to carry their approbation of government and the war, without a dissenting voice: if ever therefore there was a time when the Church and King might be said to be out of danger at Manchester it was at this moment; yet *on this very day* they hoisted the banners of alarm to both, they paraded with them through every quarter of the town; mobs by degrees were collected, and in the evening of this very eleventh of December Mr. Walker's house and others were attacked; you will observe that before this day no man has talked about arms at Mr. Walker's:—if an honourable gentleman upon the Jury who has been carefully taking notes of the evidence will have the goodness to refer to them, he will find that it was not till near a week after this, (so Dunn expresses it,) that a single firelock had been seen, nor indeed does any part of the evidence go back beyond this time, when Mr. Walker's house was thus surrounded and attacked by a riotous and disorderly mob. He was aware of the probable consequences of such an attack, he knew by the recent example of Birmingham what he and others professing sentiments of freedom had to expect; he therefore got together a few fire-arms, which he had long had publicly by him, and an inventory of which with the rest of his furniture at Barlow-Hall had been taken by a sworn appraiser, long before any thing connected with this indictment had an existence; with these, and the assistance of a few steady friends, he stood upon his defence; he was advised indeed to retire for safety, but knowing his own innocence, and recollecting the duty he owed to himself, his family and the public, he declared he would remain there to support the laws and to defend his property; and that he would perish rather than surrender those privileges which every member of the community is bound both from interest and duty to maintain:—to alarm the multitude he fired from the windows over their heads, and dispersed them: the next morning they assembled in very great numbers before

fore his house, when a man got upon the church-yard wall, and read a most violent and inflammatory paper, and harangued and incited the populace to pull the house down; Mr. Walker went out amongst them, and expostulated with them, and asked why they had disgraced themselves so much by attacking him the night before, adding that if he had done any of them or any person whom they knew any injury, he was, upon proof of it, ready to make them every satisfaction in his power—he also told them, that he had fired upon them the night before because they were mad as well as drunk, that if they attacked him again, he would under the same circumstances act, as he had before done, but that he was then alone and unarmed in the midst of them, and if he had done any thing wrong they were then sober and had him completely in their power.

Gentlemen, this was most meritorious conduct. You all live at a distance from the metropolis and were probably therefore fortunate enough neither to be within or near it in 1780, when from beginnings smaller than those which exhibited themselves at Birmingham, or even at Manchester, the metropolis of the country, and with it the country itself, had nearly been undone; the beginning of these things is the season for exertion: I shall never indeed forget what I have heard the late mild and venerable magistrate Lord Mansfield say upon this subject, whose house was one of the first attacked in London; I have more than once heard him say, that perhaps some blame might have attached upon himself and others in authority, for their forbearance in not having directed force to have been *at the first moment* repelled by force, it being the highest humanity as a check in the infancy of tumults.

Gentlemen, Mr. Walker's conduct had the desired effect: he watched again on the 13th of December, but the mob returned no more, and next morning the arms were locked up in a bed chamber in his house where they have remained ever since, and where of course they never could have been seen by the witness whose whole evidence commences above a week subsequent to the 11th of December when they were finally put aside.

Gentlemen, this is the genuine history of the business, and it must therefore not a little surprize you that when the charge is wholly confined to the use of arms, Mr. Law should not even have hinted to you that Mr. Walker's house had been attacked, and that he was driven to stand upon his defence; as if such a thing had never had an existence; indeed the armoury which must have been exhibited in such a statement would have but ill suited the indictment or the evidence,

evidence, and *I* must therefore undertake the description of it myself.

The arms having been locked up as I told you in the bed-chamber, I was shewn last week into this house of conspiracy, treason, and death, and saw exposed to view the mighty armoury which was to level the beautiful fabrick of our constitution, and to destroy the lives and properties of seven millions of people; it consisted first of six little swivels purchased two years ago at the sale of Livesey, Hargrave, and Co. (of whom we have all heard so much) by Mr. Jackson a gentleman of Manchester, who is also one of the defendants, and who gave them to Master Walker a boy about ten years of age; swivels you know are guns so called because they turn upon a pivot, but these were taken off their props, were painted, and put upon blocks resembling carriages of heavy cannon and in that shape may be fairly called childrens toys; you frequently see them in the neighbourhood of London adorning the houses of sober citizens, who, strangers to Mr. Brown and his improvements, and preferring grandeur to taste, place them upon their ramparts at Mile-End or Islington: having been, like Mr. Dunn, (I hope I resemble him in nothing else) having like him served his Majesty as a soldier (and I am ready to serve again if my country's safety should require it) I took a closer review of all I saw, and observing that the muzzle of one of them was broke off I was curious to know how far this famous conspiracy had proceeded and whether they had come into action, when I found the accident had happened on firing a *feu de joie* upon his Majesty's happy recovery, and that they had been afterwards fired upon the Prince of Wales' birth day. These are the only times that in the hands of these conspirators, these cannon big with destruction had opened their little mouths; once to commemorate the indulgent and benign favour of providence in the recovery of the Sovereign, and once as a congratulation to the Heir apparent of his crown on the anniversary of his birth.

I went next, under the protection of the master general of this ordnance (Mr. Walker's chambermaid), to visit the rest of this formidable array of death, and found next a little musketoon about so high, *(describing it)* I put my thumb upon it, when out started a little bayonet like the Jack-in-a-box which we buy for children at a fair; In short, not to weary you gentlemen, there was just such a parcel of arms of different sorts and sizes as a man collecting amongst his friends, for his defence against the sudden violence of a riotous multitude, might be expected to have collected; here lay three or four rusty guns of different dimensions, and here and there a bayonet or broad-sword covered over with dust

dust so as to be almost undistinguishable; for notwithstanding what this infamous wretch has sworn, we will prove by witness after witness, till you desire us to finish, that they were principally collected on the 11th of December, the day of the riot, and that from the 12th in the evening, or the 13th in the morning, they have been untouched as I have described them; that their use began and ended with the necessity, and that from that time to the present there never has been a fire-arm in the warehouse of any sort or description; this is the whole on which has been built a proceeding which might have brought the defendants to the punishment of death, for both the charge and the evidence amount to high treason, high treason indeed under almost every branch of the statute; for the facts amount to levying war against the King by a conspiracy to wrest by force the government out of his hands; to an adherence to the King's enemies, and to a compassing of his death, which is a necessary consequence of an invading army of republicans or of any other enemies of the state; yet notwithstanding the notoriety of these facts, the unnamed prosecutors (and indeed I am afraid to slander any man or body of men by even a guess upon the subject) have been beating up as for volunteers, to procure another witness to destroy the lives of the gentlemen before you, against many of whom warrants for high treason were issued to apprehend them; Mr. Walker among the rest was the subject of such a warrant, and as soon as he knew it, he behaved (as he has throughout) like a man and an Englishman: he wrote immediately to the Secretary of State who was summoned here to-day, and whose absence I do not complain of, because we have by consent the benefit of his testimony; he wrote three letters to Mr. Dundas, one of which was delivered by Mr. Wharton, informing him that he was in London on his business as a merchant; that if any warrant had been issued against him he was ready to meet it, and for that purpose delivered his address where it might be executed *: this Mr. Walker did when the prosecutors were in search of another witness, and when this Mr. Dunn was walking like a tame sparrow through the New Bailey, fed at the public or some other expence, and suffered to go at large, though arrested upon a criminal charge and sent into custody under it.

And to what other circumstances need I appeal for the purity of the defendants, than that under the charge of a conspiracy extensive enough to comprehend in its transactions (if any existed) the whole compass of England, the tour of which was to have been made by Mr. Yorke, there has not been one man found to utter a syllable about them, no not one man, thanks be to God, who has so framed the characteristics of Englishmen, except the

* See Appendix, No. 1.

the solitary infamous witness before you, who from what I have heard since I began to address you, may have spoken the truth when he claimed my acquaintance, as I have reason to think he has seen me before in a criminal court of justice.

Having now for the satisfaction of the defendants rather than from the necessity of the case, given you an account of their whole proceedings as I shall establish them by proof, let us now examine the evidence that has been given against them, and see how the truth of it could stand with reason or probability, supposing it to have been sworn to by a witness the most respectable.

According to Dunn's own account, Mr. Walker had not been at the first meeting, so that when he first saw Dunn he did not know either his person or his name, he might have been a spy (God knows there are enow of them) and at that season in particular, informers were to be expected, Mr. Walker is supposed to have said to him "What is your "business here?" to which he answered "I am going to "the society," which entitled him at once to admission without further ceremony; there was nobody to stop him, was he asked his name? was he balloted for? was he questioned as to his principles? No, he walked in at once, but first it seems Mr. Walker, who had never before seen him, enquired of him the news from Ireland (observing by his voice that he was an Irishman) and asked what the Volunteers were about, as if Mr. Walker could possibly suppose that such a person was likely to have been in a correspondence with Ireland which told him more than report must have told every body else; Mr. Dunn tells you indeed he was no such person, he was a friend, as he says, to the King and Constitution which Mr. Walker would have found by asking another question, but without further enquiry he is supposed to have said to him at once, "we shall "overthrow the constitution by and by," which the moment Dunn had heard, up walked that affectionate subject of our Sovereign Lord the King into Mr. Walker's house where the constitution was to be so overthrown; but then he tells you he thought there was no harm to be done, that it was only for the benefit of the poor, and the public good; but how could he think so after what he had that moment heard? but he did not know it seems what Mr. Walker meant. Gentlemen, do you collect from Mr. Dunn's discourse and deportment to-day that he could not tell but that a man meant good when he had heard him even express *a wish* to overthrow the government; would you pull a feather out of a sparrow's wing upon the oath of a man who swears that he believed a person to have been a good subject

in the very moment he was telling him of an intended rebellion? But why should I fight a phantom with argument? Could any man but a driveller, have possibly given such an answer as is put into Mr. Walker's mouth to a man he had never seen in his life? However many may differ from Mr. Walker in opinion, every body I believe will admit that he is an acute, intelligent man, with an extensive knowledge of the world and not at all likely to have conducted himself like an idiot: what follows next?—another night he went into the warehouse where he saw Mr. Yorke called to the chair, who said he was going the tour of the kingdom in order to try the strength of the different societies to join fifty thousand men that were expected to land from France into this country, and that Mr. Walker then said, "Damn all kings—I know our King has seventeen "millions of money in the Bank of Vienna although he "won't afford any of it to the poor." Gentlemen, is this the language of a man of sense and education? If Mr. Walker had the malignity of a demon, would he think of giving effect to it by such a senseless lie?—When we know that from the immense expence attending his Majesty's numerous and illustrious family and the great necessities of the state, he has been obliged over and over again to have recourse to the generosity and justice of parliament to maintain the dignity of the crown, could Mr. Walker ever have thought of inventing this nonsense about the Bank of Vienna, when there is a Bank too in our own country where he might legally invest his property for himself and his heirs? but Mr. Walker did not stop there; he went on and said, "I should think no more of taking "off the King's head than I should of tearing this piece of "paper." All this happened soon after his admission, yet this man who represents himself to you upon his oath this day, as having been uniformly a friend to the constitution, as far as he understood it; as having left the society as soon as he saw their mischievous inclinations, and as having *voluntarily* informed against them, I say this same friend of the constitution tells you almost in the same breath, that he continued to attend their meetings from thirty to forty times *where high treason was committing with open doors*, and that instead of giving information of his own free choice, he was arrested in the very act of distributing some seditious publication.

Gentlemen, it is really a serious consideration, that upon such testimony a man should even be put upon his defence in the courts of this country; upon such principles what man is safe? I was indeed but ill at ease myself when Mr. Dunn told me he knew me better than I supposed, what security

security have I at this moment that he should not swear that he had met with me under some gate-way in Lancaster and that I had said to him, "Well, Dunn, I hope you "will not swear against Mr. Walker, but that you will "stick to the good cause: damn all kings: damn the con-"stitution;" if the witness were now to swear this, into gaol I must go, and if my client is in danger from what has been sworn against *him* what safety would there be for *me?* the evidence would be equally positive, and I am equally an object of suspicion as Mr. Walker: it is said of *him* that he has been a member of a society for the reform of parliament; so have *I*, and so am *I* at this moment, and so at all hazards I will continue to be, and I will tell you why gentlemen, because I hold it to be essential to the preservation of all the ranks and orders of the state, alike essential to the prince and to the people: I have the honour to be allied to his Majesty in blood, and my family has been for centuries a part of what is now called the aristocracy of the country, I can therefore have no interest in the destruction of the constitution.

In pursuing the probability of this story, (since it must be pursued) let us next advert to whether any thing appears to have been done in other places which might have been exposed by this man's information: the whole kingdom is under the eye and dominion of magistracy awakened at that time to an extraordinary vigilance, yet has any one man been arrested even upon the suspicion of any correspondence with the societies of Manchester, good bad or indifferent, or has any person within the four seas come to swear that any such correspondence existed? so that you are desired to believe upon Mr. Dunn's single declaration that gentlemen of the description I am representing, without any end or object, or concert with others, were resolved to put their lives into the hands of any miscreant who might be disposed to swear them away, by holding public meetings of conspiracy with open doors and in the presence of all mankind, liable to be handed over to justice every moment of their lives, since every tap at the door might have introduced a constable as readily as a member; and, to finish the absurdity, these gentlemen are made to discourse in a manner that would disgrace the lowest and most uninformed classes of the community.

Let us next see what interest Mr. Walker has in the proposed invasion of this peaceable country: Has Mr. Law proved that Mr. Walker had any reason to expect protection from the French from any secret correspondence or communication more than you or I have, or that he had prepared any means of resisting the troops of this country? how was he to have welcomed these strangers into our land?

land? what, with this dozen of rusty muskets, or with those conspirators whom he exercised? but who are they? they are it seems "to the jurors unknown," as my learned friend has called them who drew this indictment, and he might have added *who will ever remain unknown to them;*— but has Mr. Walker nothing to lose like other men who dread an invasion? He has long had the acquaintance and friendship of some of the best men in this kingdom, who would be destroyed if such an invasion should take place. —Has he like other men no ties of a nearer description? Alas, gentlemen! I feel at this moment that he has many: Mr. Dunn told you that I was with Mr. Walker at Manchester, and it enables me to say of my own knowledge that it is impossible he should have had the designs imputed to him. I have been under his roof where I have seen him the husband of an amiable and affectionate woman, and the happy parent of six engaging children; and it hurts me not a little to think what they must feel at this moment: before prosecutions are set on foot, those things ought to be considered; we ought not like the fool in the proverbs to scatter fire-brands and death, and say, "Am I "not in sport?" Could we look at this moment into the dwelling of this unfortunate gentleman, for so I must call him, I am persuaded it would distress us; they cannot but be unhappy; they have seen prosecutions equally unjust as even this is, attended with a success of equal injustice, and we have seen those proceedings, I am afraid by those who are at the bottom of this indictment, put forward for your imitation. I saw to my astonishment at Preston, where as a traveller I called for a newspaper, that this immaculate society (the Manchester Church and King Club) had a meeting lately and had published to the world the toasts and sentiments which they drank; some of them I like, some of them deserve reprobation: "The Church and "King;" very well. "The Queen and Royal Family;" be it so. "The Duke of York and the army;" be it so. But what do you think came next?

(Here Mr. Justice Heath interrupted Mr. Erskine by saying we are not to go into this of which you cannot give evidence).

Mr. *Erskine.* I don't know what effect these publications may have upon the administration of justice; why drink "*the Lord Advocate and the Court of Justiciary in Scotland,*" just when your Lordship is called upon to administer *English* justice; if I had seen the King and his judges upon the northern circuit published as a toast ———

Mr. Justice *Heath.* You know you cannot give this in evidence.

Mr. *Erskine,* Gentlemen, considering the situation in which my clients stand at this moment I expressed the idea which

which occured to me and which I thought it right not to suppress, but let it pass; this is not the moment for controversy; it is my interest to submit to any course his Lordship may think proper to dictate; the evidence is more than enough for my purpose; so mainly improbable, so contrary to every thing in the course of human affairs, that I know you would reject it even if it stood unanswered; what then will you say when I shall prove to you by the oaths of the various persons who attended these societies, that no propositions of the sort insinuated by this witness ever existed; that no hint directly or indirectly of any illegal tendency was ever whispered; that their real objects were just what were *openly professed*, be they right or wrong, be they wise or mistaken, namely, *reformation in the constitution of the House of Commons*, which my learned friend admitted they had a right by constitutional means to promote; this was their object, they neither desired to touch the King's authority nor the existence or privileges of the House of Lords; but they wished that those numerous classes of the community who, (by the law as it now stands,) are secluded from any share in the choice of members to the parliament, should have an equal right with others, in concerns where their interests are equal. Gentlemen, this very county furnishes a familiar instance; there are I believe at least thirty thousand freeholders in Lancashire, each of whom has a vote for two members of parliament; and there are two boroughs within it, (if I mistake not) Clithero and Newton, containing a handful of men who are at the beck of *two individuals;* yet these two little places send for themselves, *or rather for these two persons* two members each, which makes four against the whole power and interest of this county in parliament, touching any measure how deeply soever it may concern their prosperity; can there then be any offence in meeting together to consider of a representation to parliament, suggesting the wisdom of alteration and amendment in such a system?

Mr. Justice *Heath*. *There can be no doubt but that a petition to parliament for reform or any thing else can be no offence.*

Mr. *Erskine*. Gentlemen, I expected this interruption from the learning of the Judge; certainly it can be no offence and consequently my clients can be no offenders.

Having now exposed the weakness of Dunn's evidence from its own intrinsic defects, and from the positive contradiction every part of it is to receive from many witnesses, I shall conclude with the still more positive and unequivocal contradiction which the whole of it has received from Dunn himself —You may remember that I repeatedly asked him whether he had not confessed that the whole he had sworn to-day was utterly

utterly false; whether he had not confessed it to be so with tears of contrition, and whether he had not kneeled down before Mr. Walker to implore his forgiveness. My learned friend knowing that this would be proved upon him, made a shrewd and artful observation to avoid the effects of it; he said that such things had fallen often under the observation of the court upon the circuit, where witnesses had been drawn into similar snares by artful people to invalidate their testimony; this may be true, but the answer to its application is, that not only the witness himself has positively denied that any such snare was laid for him, but the witnesses I have to call both in respect of number and credit will put a total end to such a suggestion; if I had indeed but one witness, my friend the Attorney General might undoubtedly put it to you in reply whether his or mine was to be believed; but I will call to you, *not one* but *four or five;* or, if necessary, *six witnesses* ABOVE ALL SUSPICION, in whose presence Dunn voluntarily confessed the falsehood of his testimony, and with tears of apparent repentance offered to make any reparation to these injured and unfortunate defendants; this I pledge myself to prove to your satisfaction.

Gentlemen, the object of all public trial and punishment is the security of mankind in social life; we are not assembled here for the purposes of vengeance, but for the ends of justice; to give that tranquility to human life which is the scope of all government and law; you will therefore take care how in the very administration of justice, you disappoint that which is the very foundation of its institution; you will take care that in the very moment you are trying a man as a disturber of the public happiness, you do not violate the rules which alone secure to us all our happiness as private men, to secure which we alone form a public.

The last evidence I have been stating ought by itself to put an instant end to this cause; I remember a case very lately which was so brought to its conclusion, where upon a trial for perjury of a witness who had sworn against the captain of a vessel in the African trade, it appeared that the witnesses who swore to the perjury against the defendants, had themselves made deliberate declarations which materially clashed with the testimony they were giving; Lord Kenyon who tried the cause, would after this proceed no further, and asked me, who was of counsel for the prosecution, whether I would urge it further, saying emphatically, what I hope every Judge under similar circumstances will think it his duty to say also, "No man ought, or can be "convicted in England, unless the Judge and the Jury have "*a firm assurance* that innocence cannot by any possibility

"be

"be the victim of conviction and sentence." And how can the Jury or his Lordship have that assurance here, when the only source of it is brought into such serious doubt and question? Upon the whole then I cannot help hoping that my friend the Attorney General when he shall hear my proofs, will feel that a prosecution like this ought not to be offered for the seal and sanction of your verdict; *unjust prosecutions lead to the ruin of all governments; for whoever will look back to the history of the world in general, and of our own particular country, will be convinced, that exactly in proportion as prosecutions have been cruel and oppressive, and maintained by inadequate and unrighteous evidence, in the same proportion and by the same means, their authors have been destroyed instead of being supported by them; as often as the principles of our ancient laws have been departed from in weak and wicked times, as often the governments that have violated them have been suddenly crumbled into dust; and therefore wishing, as I most sincerely do, the preservation and prosperity of our happy constitution, I desire to enter my protest against its being supported by means that are likely to destroy it;* violent proceedings bring on the bitterness of retaliation until all justice and moderation are trampled down and subverted; witness those sanguinary prosecutions previous to the awful period in the last century, when Charles the First fell: that unfortunate prince lived to lament those vindictive judgments by which his impolitic, infatuated followers imagined they were supporting his throne: he lived to see how they destroyed it; his throne, undermined by violence, sunk under him, and those who shook it were guilty in their turn; such is the natural order of injustice, not of similar but of worse and more violent wrongs; witness the fate of the unhappy Earl of Strafford, who, when he could not be reached by the ordinary laws, was impeached in the House of Commons, and who when still beyond the consequences of that judicial proceeding, was at last destroyed *by the arbitrary wicked mandate of the legislature.* James the Second lived to ask assistance in the hour of his own distress, from those whom he had cut off from the means of giving it; he lived to ask support from the Earl of Bedford after his son the unfortunate Lord Russell had fallen under the axe of injustice; "I once had a son," said that noble person, "who could have served your Majesty upon this occasion;" but there was then none to assist him.

I cannot possibly tell how others feel upon these subjects, but I do know how it is their interest to feel concerning them; *we ought to be persuaded that the only way by which government can be honourably or safely supported, is by cultivating the love and affection of the people; by shewing them the value*

of

of the constitution by its protection; by making them understand its principles by the practical benefits derived from them, and above all, by letting them feel their security in the administration of law and justice: what is it in the present state of that unhappy kingdom, the contagion of which fills us with such alarm, that is the just object of terror? What, but that accusation and conviction are the same, and that a false witness or power without evidence is a warrant for death? not so here;—long may the countries differ! and I am asking nothing more, than that you should decide according to our own wholesome rules, by which our government was established, and by which it has been ever protected. Put yourselves, gentlemen, in the place of the defendants, and let me ask if you were brought before your country upon a charge supported by no other evidence than that which you have heard to-day, and encountered by that which I have stated to you, what would you say, or your children after you, if you were touched in your persons or your properties by a conviction?—may you never be put to such reflections nor the country to such disgrace! The best service we can render to the public is that we should live like one harmonious family, that we should banish all animosities, jealousies, and suspicions of one another, and that living under the protection of a mild and impartial justice, we should endeavour, with one heart, according to our best judgments, to advance the freedom and maintain the security of Great Britain.

Gentlemen, I will trouble you no further; I am afraid indeed I have too long trespassed on your patience, I will therefore proceed to call my witnesses.

EVIDENCE FOR THE DEFENDANTS.

Mr. *George Wakefield* (sworn).

Examined by Mr. Serjeant *Cockell.*

Q. You are a merchant in Manchester I understand?
A. I have been.
Q. Do you remember the time of the riots when Mr. Walker's house was attacked?
A. I do.
Q. After that night do you know whether the constitutional society which had been formed in Manchester, met at Mr. Walker's?
A. Yes.
Q. Was you a member of that society?
A. I was.
Q. What was the object of that society?
A. A parliamentary reform.
Q. How happened it that after that time the meetings were held at Mr. Walker's?
A. I don't know particularly; some of the public houses had refused to let us have a room any longer.
Q. However in point of fact the meetings then were held at Mr. Walker's?
A. They were.
A. We have heard of the time of the riots, you will speak to the day as nearly as you remember?
A. I believe it was on Tuesday the 11th of December.
Q. How often did the society meet?
A. Once a week or once a fortnight, I declare I do not recollect which.
Q. Did you ever attend those meetings?
A. Pretty regularly.
Q. How long did you continue to attend them?
A. Till nearly the last meeting I believe, which was some time in the spring of last year.
Q. Was there a free admission to any person who might choose to come?
A. Not that I know of.
Q. To members of the society?
A. There was.
Q. We have heard that men exercised with arms in the warehouse were drilled in the use of arms; is that true?
A. Not that I know of.
Q. Did you ever see such a thing?
A. No.

Q. In what part of Mr. Walker's house were the meetings held?

A. In the upper room in the warehouse.

Q. What passed at those meetings?

A. The different businesses respecting the society.

Q. Was the King damned?

Mr. *Law.* You must not put that.

Mr. Serjeant *Cockell.* Tell us what was said about the King.

A. I do not recollect hearing any thing said about the King.

Q. Did you ever hear any thing said about overthrowing the constitution by means of arms or otherwise?

A. I never heard any such thing.

Q. Was any thing said about inviting the French to invade the kingdom?

A. No.

Q. Did you ever hear any thing of the sort?

A. No, not a syllable.

Q. If men had been drilled in the use of fire-arms, must you not have seen it?

A. I must.

Q. Did you ever see any?

A. No.

Q. Ever hear of any?

A. No.

Q. If any persons had been drilled in arms for the purpose of offence, or destroying the government, would you have continued a member of that society?

A. No, not a moment.

Q. Did you ever hear any thing said about inviting an invasion from France?

Mr. *Law.* Ask what did pass there when this man was present.

Mr. Serjeant *Cockell.* I have no wish to lead.

Mr. *Erskine.* I should be sorry to offer any testimony that is not in the ordinary course, but when a witness comes to contradict to a particular point, how can we act any other way?

Mr. Justice *Heath.* He has said, no mention was made of any invasion.

Mr. Serjeant *Cockell.* What was the sole object of your meeting?

A. As far as I understood it, a parliamentary reform.

Q. Was there any act done at your meeting to your knowledge that was directed otherwise than to that end?

A. No.

Q. Did you at any time, or any person in your hearing, in

in that room, say or do any thing to overturn the government of the country?

A. No, never.

Q. What was the reform that you sought, and by what means?

A. That is a point upon which few people are agreed; but it was a parliamentary reform.

Q. By means of menacing government?

A. No.

Q. Inviting a foreign enemy?

A. No.

Q. Was it in any other way than such means as you suppose the law to allow?

A. No, by no other means than what we apprehend to be constitutional, nothing but what the law allows.

Mr. *Erskine.* The witness has said it was to be done by no other means than what in his apprehensions the law allowed; we can go no further if we were to stay here a month.

Mr. Serjeant *Cockell.* You attended pretty constantly you have said. What have you heard Mr. Walker say at any time?

Mr. Justice *Heath.* You may ask him, did he hear Mr. Walker say any thing about the King.

Mr. Serjeant *Cockell.* What number of men might there be generally?

A. Sometimes more, and sometimes less; I have seen twenty in the society, and I have seen more, the numbers differing at different times.

Q. Did you ever see any men exercised in the use of arms?

A. No.

Q. Did you ever hear any thing of the sort mentioned?

A. No, if I had, merely to learn the use of arms, I should have been one myself probably, but I never heard any thing of it.

Q. Did you ever hear Paul or any other person say that he knew there would be a revolt from Ireland?

A. I do not recollect any such thing.

Q. Did you ever hear any one say if we had a revolt, it would be through the Irish?

A. No.

Q. Did you ever hear any one say they had sent a deputy to Ireland as a King, and damn him and all kings?

A. No.

Q. Could any such expressions have been made use of without your hearing of them?

A. No, I am sure there could not.

Q. Did you ever hear Mr. Walker damn the King?

A. No.

A. No.

Q. At any time?

A. No.

Q. Did you ever hear it said either by Mr. Walker or any other person, that Mr. Yorke was going through the three kingdoms to know the aid that there might be for the French?

A. No.

Mr. *Law.* Was you there when Mr. Yorke was by?

Mr. Serjeant *Cockell.* Dunn said, there were every night conversations about the King.

Mr. *Walker.* Did you ever hear me say any thing unbecoming an honest man and a good citizen?

Mr. *Law.* We cannot ask that.

Mr. Serjeant *Cockell.* Do you remember the time when Mr. Yorke was in the chair?

A. I do not recollect that I was there at that time.

Q. Did you use to skulk in privately and secretly?

A. No.

Q. Did you go in always the same way?

A. I cannot say whether I did at all times, I went in at different doors; I was not going about any thing I was ashamed of.

Mr. *George Wakefield.*

Cross-examined by Mr. *Law.*

Q. You are or was partner with Mr. Grant.

A. Yes.

Q. He is a brother-in-law of Mr. Walker?

A. Yes.

Q. Have you attended at most of those meetings?

A. At many of them.

Q. Did you see Dunn there at any of them?

A. I don't remember that I ever did.

Q. Not at any?

A. I believe he was not a member of the same society.

Q. Are you of the Reformation Society?

A. No; of the Constitutional Society.

Q. Did that society meet at the house of Mr. Walker?

A. Yes.

Q. They met on different nights, did they?

A. I believe so; I was not a member of any other society.

Q. Whether you saw Mr. Yorke at that meeting that you attended?

A. I do not recollect seeing him there at all.

Q. Do you know him?

A. I do not know him?

Q. How

Q. How came you to have no doubt you had seen him more than once?

A. I do not recollect I said any such thing.

Q. I took you down that Yorke was by.

A. I did not say so.

Q. You don't know whether Yorke was present at any meeting?

A. I believe he was present at a meeting, but I do not recollect being there when he was.

Mr. Justice *Heath.* It was a different society.

Mr. *Erskine.* They met in the same room at the same time.

Mr. *Law.* Do you mean to say the Reformation Society and the Constitutional Society met at the same place and time under the roof of Mr. Walker?

A. Yes, occasionally; I have seen the Reformation Society there at the same time, and in the same room.

Q. As you resorted there frequently, and the societies frequently met there, if this man had gone to Mr. Walker's, you might probably have seen him?

A. Probably I might.

Q. Is his person familiar with you?

A. I saw him this morning.

Q. You do not recollect him?

A. I do not.

Q. What time of the year did you attend at these meetings?

A. Almost all the year.

Q. From September up to June?

A. I do not recollect particularly.

Q. Do you recollect the time when Yorke was at Manchester?

A. No.

Q. Whether you have not declared you was present when Mr. Yorke was at one of these meetings?

A. No.

Q. Have you not so said in this court?

A. If you have taken it down so, you have taken it down wrong; I do not know him.

Q. Mr. Thomas Walker you have seen of course there?

A. Yes.

Q. Mr. Cheetham?

A. Yes.

Q. Mr. Jackson?

A. Yes.

Q. Pearsall?

A. I do not know him; I may know his person.

Q. Mc Callum and Smith?

A. I

A. I have seen them there.

Q. Do you know where they are now?

A. No.

Q. Booth you have seen there?

A. Yes.

Q. And Paul?

A. Yes.

Q. And Collier?

A. Yes.

Q. Have you seen them very often?

A. Several times, some of them very often.

Q. But you do not recollect whether you ever saw Dunn there?

A. No.

Q. You know Mr. Kinnaston?

A. Yes.

A. I believe you won't refuse him the testimony that every man will give in his favour, that he is a man of credit and character?

A. I do not know him, but personally.

Q. However you take upon you to swear there were never any men drilled while you was by?

A. Never.

Q. How many hours were you there at a time?

A. About two hours.

Q. You say twenty men might be there—cannot you extend their number to fifty or sixty?

A. I may perhaps have seen fifty or sixty.

Q. What is the different object of the societies? the constitutional society is for a reform in parliament; what was the Reformation Society for?

A. I was not a member of the Reformation Society.

Q. It is commonly called the Subversion or Overthrow Society, is it not?

A. I do not know what you may call it.

Q. Being at these meetings so held jointly, the Reformation and Constitutional Societies, you never knew the objects for which the Reformation Society was formed?

A. I did not attend to the objects of the Reformation Society at all.

Q. Then you do not know the object for which it was formed?

A. How should I when I was not a member of it? they met there to join the Constitutional Society when any member of that society took the chair. I had nothing to do with it, and did not attend to it.

Q. And you were even a stranger to the objects of it?

A. Yes.

Q. You

Q. You are a partner with Mr. Walker's brother-in-law, and being present at their assemblies, you did not know what they assembled for?

A. I assembled there to meet the Constitutional Society, and their objects were the same I should suppose.

Mr. *George Wakefield.*

Re-examined by Mr. Serjeant *Cockell.*

Q. Although you was not a member of the Reformation Society, but of the Constitutional Society, did you ever when the Reformation Society was there, hear or see any person exercising themselves in arms?

A. Never.

George Clark (sworn).

Examined by Mr. *Chambre.*

Q. You are a member of the society called the Reformation Society at Manchester?

A. Yes.

Q. When did you become a member of that society?

A. About Easter 1792.

Q. When was the society instituted?

A. Either in Easter week, or about a week before, and I was a member about the second or third meeting.

Q. How often did you meet?

A. I was a very constant attendant.

Q. At what periods did you meet?

A. We had weekly meetings.

Q. Did you continue a pretty constant attending member during the whole time of the existence of that society?

A. I did.

Q. Where did you meet when you first became a member?

A. At the Old Boar's-head.

Q. Did you remove from that place?

A. Yes, to John Stacey's.

Q. What was the occasion of your removing to John Stacey's.

A. In consequence of an advertisement published by the publicans, we removed to John Stacey's.

Q. Do you know about what time it was you went to John Stacey's?

A. I cannot tell.

A. Did you continue at John Stacey's?

A. Not long.

Q. Where

Q. Where did you go next?

A. To the house of William Gorse in Newton-street.

Q. Is that a private or a public house?

A. A private house.

Q. You know Mr. Walker, Mr. Collier, and Mr. Paul?

A. I do.

Q. Do you know whether they at any time received any invitation to attend the meeting of your society?

A. I cannot say I do.

Q. When did you first see them present at your society?

A. I never saw them before the 10th of December at Gorse's.

Q. What did you understand them to be?

A. Members of the Constitutional Society; I believe Mr. Cheetham was there but I am not confident, the other three were there at that time.

Q. Do you know what was the subject of the deliberation of that particular meeting?

A. The particular subject of that meeting was, there was a public meeting called at the Bull's-head the day following, to address his Majesty upon his second proclamation; a motion was made whether we should attend that meeting at the Bull's-head or not; it was unanimously negatived.

Q. Did Mr. Walker take any part or assign any reason?

A. Mr. Walker and Mr. Paul spoke against attending that meeting, and assigned their reasons.

Mr. *Law.* Does any of our evidence let in this?—we have given no evidence, but of meetings in Mr. Walker's house; they are giving evidence of meetings at another place, probably for other purposes.

Mr. *Erskine.* I should have thought this too plain for argument.—If my friend insists upon his objection, we must be heard upon it; the offence imputed to Mr. Walker is, that a few days after the 11th of December, the witness, Dunn, found him haranguing the Reformation Society in the seditious manner stated by the witness, speaking of the King in the manner he has deposed to, and men exercising with arms in his presence. Is it not evidence, to shew that this very Reformation Society was instituted for other purposes than those imputed to it, and that there was no man who had been so counselled or received any such instructions?

Mr. Justice *Heath.* I think it is not evidence what they did three days before, because a man may express his loyalty in one meeting, and if he has bad intentions he may go and act traitorously in another; I do not say that these defendants did, I only say this to shew that it is not evidence.

Mr.

Mr. *Erskine.* Though we cannot prove what Mr. Walker said at this meeting, for the reason your Lordship has been pleased to assign, yet may we not be permitted to prove that this Reformation Society, within the knowledge of the witness, three days before that time, had no such objects?

Mr. Justice *Heath.* I do not care what object they had in meeting, people may meet very innocently, and proceed to criminal acts afterwards.

Mr. *Chambre.* Was that meeting of the 10th of December the last meeting you had in the house of Gorse?

A. Yes.

Q. What were the general purposes of the institution of that society?

Mr. *Law.* A question couched in words so general, I conceive cannot be put to a witness, they may examine as to facts, as to what was done and said, what measures were adopted by the people there—the purposes and objects are matters of the heart.

Mr. Justice *Heath.* I think they may shew what is the declared purpose when people meet together.

Mr. *Erskine.* We are going to every meeting where Dunn was, to shew that no such purposes as he states either were the avowed or the expressed objects.

Mr. Justice *Heath.* Take it up when Dunn came.

Mr. *Erskine.* If he had stated the particular day on which he was at any meeting, we should not have troubled your Lordship with any other evidence.

Mr. Justice *Heath.* You fixed it by the day after the attack upon Mr. Walker's house.

Mr. *Chambre.* The 10th of December you say was the last meeting you had at Gorse's house; where did you remove to when you left Gorse's house?

A. To Mr. Walker's warehouse.

Q. How did that happen, and what was the occasion of that removal?

A. Some person expressed a wish in the Reformation Society ———

Mr. *Law.* That I object to—you removed the society?

Mr. *Chambre.* Was Mr. Walker applied to?

A. Some person said ———

Mr. *Law.* Go to the first meeting at Mr. Walker's.

Q. When did you first meet at Mr. Walker's?

A. On the 11th of December.

Q. And from that time, as long as the society existed, you continued to attend the meetings?

A. I continued attending the meetings till the 25th of March, with very great strictness.

Mr. *Erskine.* That comprehends the whole time that Dunn speaks to.

 Q. After

Q. After the 25th of March did you attend?

A. I attended a few times after that, but cannot tell how many.

Q. But with great regularity till the 25th of March?

A. Yes.

Q. How long did you use to attend at a time, as near as you can recollect?

A. It was the general rule to meet at seven, and the business of the meeting to begin at half past; I was scarcely ever out of the meetings at the time the business began.

Q. And did you stay till the conclusion, or near the conclusion?

A. I never, to my knowledge, went away before the conclusion of the meeting.

Q. What were the avowed purposes of this meeting?

A. To obtain a reform in parliament.

Q. Now during all this period of your attendance there, did you ever hear Mr. Walker or any of the defendants in this indictment, propose any other than peaceable means of reform?

A. No, I never did.

Q. Did you ever hear them make use of any expressions that had in your judgment any tendency to excite any body to acts of rebellion?

A. No, I did not.

Q. Was any mention made of an expected invasion of the French, and of any attempts to assist them in that invasion?

A. No, there was not.

Q. Did you ever hear any thing like it proposed at any time?

A. No, I never did.

Q. Had that been the subject of your deliberations, or had such expressions been used by Mr. Walker, or any of the persons there—do you think you must not have heard them, and must not have remembered them?

A. I am certain any thing of that sort could not have happened without my observation, I attended so strictly.

Q. Upon the 11th of December the riot happened, I believe?

A. It did.

Q. Was you in Mr. Walker's house at that time?

A. I was.

Q. What happened on the night of the 11th?

A. About half past six o'clock I went from my house into the town; when I got into the market-place, I saw several people throwing stones at the windows and doors

of

of Messrs. Falkner and Birch's* shop in the Market-place; I went as soon as I saw what was going on there, to Mr. Walker's, and I was there till the rioters approached his house; when they first approached it, I was up stairs in the warehouse; I very well recollect there came somebody up and told Mr. Walker the rioters were before his house, and I well recollect he went down, but he was not long before he came up again, and said, they had only broke a few panes of the windows and were gone off again.

Q. Did any mischief happen that night, the 11th?

A. They attacked the house four different times; I was up in the warehouse while it was attacked three times, before I went down; but the fourth time I was in the house when it was attacked; it was attacked with very great violence.

Q. On that night were there any arms in the house that were used for resisting this mob?

A. I saw no arms in the house, only a couple of blunderbusses, and I think I recollect something of a pistol, that was all I saw.

Q. Do you know whether any attempt was made on that night to obtain assistance from the civil power, from the magistrates; were you present at any requisition of that sort?

A. I was not.

Q. After the riot, to the 25th of March, did you attend the meetings at Mr. Walker's?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you see at any times any arms used at Mr. Walker's house for any other purpose than to protect the house?

A. No, I never did.

Q. When did you see any arms there used for that purpose?

A. I never saw any arms but upon the 11th of December.

Q. Was there at any time, to your knowledge, any men exercised or instructed in the use of arms?

A. No, there never were.

Q. Could such a thing possibly have existed at any of the meetings, without your knowledge?

A. No, it was impossible it should exist without my knowledge?

Q. Do you know what the arms were that Mr. Walker had in his house?

A. I never saw any fire arms, except these blunderbusses, and some swivels.

Q. I

* Messrs. Falkner and Birch were stationers in Manchester, and the sole proprietors and publishers of the Manchester Herald.

Q. I believe you don't know in what way Mr. Walker became possessed of these swivels?

A. No.

Q. But whatever the arms were, were they ever brought out or used for the purpose of exercise, or any other purpose, to your knowledge, except on the 11th of December?

A. They were not.

Q. This you are perfectly certain of, that there never was any training or exercising of men there?

A. There never was.

Q. Did you ever hear Mr. Walker, or any body else belonging to the society, declare a purpose of that sort?

A. No.

Q. Do you remember Dunn being at any of these meetings?

A. I have seen Dunn there.

Q. When he was attending there, when you saw him, can you take upon you to say, that if any declarations of any purpose of that sort had been made, or if there had been any exercise of arms, you must have seen it and known it?

A. Yes.

Q. If you had heard amongst the members of this society any proposition or intention to assist the French in an invasion, would you have continued a member of that society?

A. No, I certainly would not.

Q. Were you present at the time when a person who has been named, a Mr. Yorke, was at the meeting?

A. Yes, I was.

Q. Do you know whether he attended one or more meetings?

A. I never saw him there but once?

Q. Did he take the chair?

A. There was no person in the chair that night to my knowledge.

Q. Did Mr. Yorke talk any thing of visiting the three kingdoms, to see whether there were persons that would assist the French in case of an invasion?

A. No, he did not.

Q. Did he speak any thing of an invasion of the French with fifty thousand, or any other number of men?

A. He did not.

Q. Did he express any purpose or wish in any way whatever to assist them in any of the three kingdoms?

A. He did not.

Q. If he had made any public declaration of that sort, are you certain you must have heard him?

A. Yes.

George

George Clark.

Cross-examined by Mr. *Wood.*

Q. You continued to meet pretty constantly from December till the 25th of March, did you?

A. Yes.

Q. You met every night, once a week?

A. I missed two nights.

Q. Had you a chairman at every time of your meeting?

A. We did not vote a chairman every night.

Q. How happened that?

A. Sometimes we had no business to do.

Q. How came you to meet so often as once a week?

A. We met to discourse on our own business, to discourse on political matters.

Q. You discoursed on political matters from half past seven till nine, and then went away?

A. Yes, we generally broke up about that time.

Q. You never read any thing, I suppose?

A. I never heard but very few things read.

Q. There were some few things read, were there?

A. Yes, I have heard a letter or two read, and I heard an excellent piece that came from Sheffield, signed "A Reformer," read *.

Q. You never heard any thing else read?

A. Not to my knowledge.

Q. You mean to swear you never heard any thing else read?

A. No, nothing but that and letters.

Q. You had a good many letters?

A. No, very few.

Q. Who produced those letters? did you all produce letters?

A. We had no letter, unless it came from Sheffield, or some other society,

Q. How many societies did you correspond with?

A. That I cannot tell.

Q. Did you ever come to any resolutions in writing at your meetings?

A. We had general rules that were read every night of our meeting,

Q. Did you come to any resolutions at your meetings?

A. Yes.

Mr. *Erskine.* You shall have them all read.

Mr. *Law.* How can you make them evidence?

Mr.

* See the Appendix, No. 8.

Mr. *Wood.* Who kept your resolutions?
A. The secretary.
Q. Who was he?
A. John Cheetham was secretary one part of the time.
Q. Who was secretary the other part of the time?
A. John Stacey and George Mc Callum.
Q. Where is George Mc Callum?
A. I cannot tell.
Q. Is not he gone to America?
A. I do not know.

George Clark.

Re-examined by Mr. *Chambre.*

Q. Did you ever at any time see Mr. Walker, or any other defendant, do any one act that was inconsistent with the duty of a peaceable citizen?
A. No.
Mr. *Law.* Does your Lordship think it is proper to put such a question?
Mr. *Erskine.* Mr. Walker is indicted before your Lordship and his country, for having confederated and conspired with the other defendants, and others unknown, to overthrow by force the constitution of this kingdom. The evidence is, that this confederacy and conspiracy existed and was brought into overt act, at meetings, at every one of which this worthy man was present. I say I have a right in defence of my clients, and till his Lordship rules the contrary, I will insist upon that right, that this witness shall say, whether at any of these times, he ever heard Mr. Walker utter any word, or speak inconsistent with the duty of a good subject.
Mr. *Law.* Then I object to that.
Mr. *Erskine.* Good God! where am I? am I in a British court of justice? how is a man to defend himself under such a charge? how are my clients to be exculpated?
Mr. *Law.* By legal evidence.
Mr. Justice *Heath.* I think that question is admissible enough.
Mr. *Chambre.* Did you at any one of those meetings see Mr. Walker, Mr. Jackson, Mr. Paul, or any of those persons that are now indicted, do any one act inconsistent with the character of a peaceable subject?
A. No; I have often heard Mr. Walker ———
Mr. Justice *Heath.* That is irregular.
Mr. *Erskine.* Your Lordship knows the constitution of the country gives me no opportunity of addressing myself to

to any other court for any revision, and therefore I have a better title to be heard; I will prove that Mr. Walker made use of expressions there of a direct contrary tendency.

Mr. Justice *Heath.* You should have examined to that in chief; you are coming to particulars now upon a re-examination.

Mr. *Erskine.* It arises upon Mr. Wood's cross-examination. I am glad to hear that we have your Lordship's authority to examine in chief to it; we have a great many more witnesses to examine.

Mr. Justice *Heath.* If you have a mind, ask that general question.

Mr. *Law.* It is a complex question, embracing the witnesses idea of what may become an honest man, pointing at no particular fact or expression, which any man may answer according to his vague ideas of propriety.

Mr. *Erskine.* When a man is indicted for exciting sedition and rebellion, is it not evidence to shew that he held a language directly repugnant to any such idea? If he had said, God bless the King, would not that be evidence?

Mr. Justice *Heath.* If it was at that meeting.

Mr. *Law.* If it goes to the whole tenor of his conduct; but a man shall not be justified by saying, God bless the King, in the street, when he has been damning him in his house.

Mr. Justice *Heath.* Ask him to their general declarations.

Mr. *Chambre.* At those meetings, when Mr. Walker was present, did you hear him say or do any thing that had a tendency to disturb the peace of the kingdom; I am examining to the meetings of the Reformation Society between the 11th of December and the 25th of March?

A. When Mr. Walker came to our meetings he generally addressed us to attend to peace and good order.

Q. Did you, or did you not hear Mr. Walker say any thing inconsistent with peace and good order, or any thing against the King and his government, or any thing that tended to subvert it—or say any thing to excite people to take up arms against the King, or to destroy the constitution?

A. I never did in my life.

Mr. *Erskine.* Whether the witness has not a right to go on and say, but on the contrary he said so and so, am I not at liberty to ask that?

Mr. Justice *Heath.* Not in this stage.

One of the Jury. What is the height of the warehouse in which you used to meet?

A. I never took notice how high it was, how many pair of stairs up.

Q. The

Q. The height of the room from the floor to the ceiling?

Mr. *Erskine.* We will give evidence of that.

James Lomax (sworn).

Examined by Mr. *Lloyd.*

Q. Where do you live?

A. In Salford.

Q. Are you a member of any of these societies?

A. Yes, the Reformation Society.

Q. When did you become a member of that society?

A. The first night I met, was the Monday night after Mr. Walker was so ill used at the riots in Manchester—the 17th of December I think, and I entered about three nights after; we met every Monday night.

Q. Did you often attend the societies?

A. Yes, I think I did not miss above once, till the latter end of March, or the beginning of April, for there were some resolutions signed, that were put into the last paper Mr. Falkner printed; I believe I did not miss but one night; that was somewhere towards February, but I am not certain which night it was.

Q. At what time did you generally go to the meeting?

A. About seven o'clock; the last Monday in the month was my box night, I either then went at eight, or at seven and left the place at eight.

Q. How long did you stay?

A. I generally staid till the end, till they were all going, and I saw nothing else likely to be done.

Q. What was the avowed object of this society?

A. To gain a reform in parliament.

Q. Do you know Dunn by sight?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you ever see him there?

A. Yes, and one night he and I were a good deal together; I recollected him when I saw him to-day: I have never seen him since.

Q. You have seen Mr. Walker there?

A. Yes.

Q. Have you ever heard Mr. Walker damn the King?

A. No.

Q. Did you ever see any persons exercise with arms there?

A. No.

Q. Did you ever see any firelocks there?

A. No; only the first night I went, I stopped by the desire of Mr. Walker that night, for he expected another riot;

not; they broke one of his windows, we went out, and whether Mr. Walker had a pistol in his hand when we went out to find the person, or not, I cannot tell; I saw nothing except in his warehouse, there were six pieces of some sort, but not firelocks.

Q. What do you call them? what length are they?

A. About this length *(describing them to be about eighteen inches long)*.

Q. You never saw any person exercising there with firelocks?

A. Never.

Q. Did you ever hear any recommendation of beginning to exercise?

A. No.

Q. If there had been such in the society, you must have seen it?

A. Yes, and I would have scorned to have tarried in it.

Q. Did you ever hear Mr. Walker, or any other, say they would overthrow the constitution?

A. I never did.

Q. Would you have stayed in the society if such a proposal had been made?

A. I do not believe I should one moment.

Q. Did you ever hear Mr. Walker or the others who were there, say or do any thing inconsistent with the duty of good subjects?

A. No; I have heard Mr. Walker many times advise us to be peaceable, and say many times he had no doubt we should be peaceable: I never saw any thing in that society that they need to be ashamed of either before God or man.

Q. Did you ever hear them talk of exciting the people to sedition or rebellion?

A. No.

Q. Or exciting the people to take up arms?

A. No.

Q. Did you ever hear them talk of assisting the French?

A. I never did.

Q. If you had heard them talk of assisting the French would you have stayed with them?

A. No; my principles are those that I would neither have war offensive nor defensive.

Q. Do you know Mr. Collier?

A. I believe I do; he is a tall man.

Q. Do you know what religion he is of?

A. A Quaker.

Q. Have you heard him swear often?

A. No, I never did in my life.

James Lomax.

Cross-examined by Mr. *Topping.*

Q. Where do you live?

A. In Salford.

Q. What business are you?

A. A weaver.

Q. You had attended these meetings then before you became a member?

A. Yes, I think it was the third night, but I cannot be positive.

Q. Then people were admitted to attend these meetings who were not actually members?

A. I never saw any denied; I have taken a man twice myself.

Q. They were admitted to these meetings, although they were not members?

A. Yes.

Q. Before you became a member you was admitted, and after you became a member you took people with you?

A. I took one man with me that had a desire to go.

Q. Upon the 17th of December you became a member?

A. No.

Q. You said you went on the 17th, and went before you became a member?

A. No, I never attended till the 17th of December.

Q. When did you become a member?

A. I believe it was the third night after.

Q. Did Mr. Walker ask you to become a member?

A. No, I went of my own free will; I don't know that any man asked me.

Q. Do you remember Paine's works being read there?

A. No, I never saw them there.

Q. Did you hear them read?

A. I never did hear them read there.

Q. Did you ever hear any part of Paine's book read there?

A. No.

Q. Have not you, upon your oath, heard books read there, which you understood to be Paine's books?

A. I never did.

Q. That you swear?

A. I do; I have heard books read I did not know whose they were; if they had been Paine's, they would have mentioned that, I suppose.

Q. You mean to say no books of Paine's were read there?

A. If

A. If it had been Paine's Rights of Man, I should have known that.

Q. Was it your knowledge of the contents of that book that entitled you to be a member of this society?

A. No.

Q. Had you the knowledge of Paine's book before you became a member of this society, or after?

A. Before, I believe.

Q. Upon your oath, have you never heard Jackson, one of the defendants, read Paine's Rights of Man there?

A. No, I never have that I know of.

Q. You say you know Paine's Rights of Man perfectly well?

A. Yes.

Q. Will you venture to swear that you never heard Jackson read any part of that book there?

A. I never have as I know of.

Q. Don't you know?

A. He has read books.

Q. Has he read books repeatedly at these meetings?

A. I only heard one or two read, and those were abstracts.

Q. Were they not abstracts out of Paine's Rights of Man?

A. They were not.

Q. What was the subject he was reading about to you?

A. There was one book, I remember, that came from London, concerning the unequal representation of the people, that came from the Friends of the People.

Mr. *Topping.* That came from the Friends of the People!

Mr. *Erskine.* I presume it did, as I believe a packet was transmitted from the Friends of the People to the Constitutional Society in Manchester. I am a member of the Friends of the People, and if you have any questions to ask relative to that society, swear me, and I will answer them.

Mr. *Topping.* Who read that?

A. Mr. Jackson.

Q. Was he the general reader at the meeting? who read besides him?

A. I have heard Mr. Walker read news-papers.

Q. Sometimes Mr. Walker read, and sometimes Mr. Jackson?

A. We had nothing else to pass our time away with; and to see how public affairs were going on.

James

James Lomax,

Re-examined by Mr. *Lloyd.*

Q. What night was it you saw Mr. Walker go out, and you suppose with a pistol?

A. It was on the 17th of December.

Q. Were the riots then continued?

A. They broke one of Mr. Walker's windows that night.

Q. You were not a member then?

A. No.

Q. You went as a friend to defend Mr. Walker's house?

A. I did.

Q. The book you heard read was, you say, the publication by the Society of the Friends of the People in London?

A. It was.

James Roberts (sworn).

Examined by Mr. *Vaughan.*

Q. Are you a member of the Reformation Society at Manchester?

A. Yes.

Q. How long have you been a member of that society?

A. I entered, I believe, on the 21st of December 1792.

Q. Have you regularly attended the meetings of that society?

A. I attended very regularly.

Q. From this time in December till what time?

A. Till the 10th day of June 1793.

Q. What was the avowed object of the meetings of this society?

A. To obtain, by constitutional means, a fair and adequate representation of the people.

Q. Do you know Mr. Thomas Walker?

A. Yes.

Q. Have you seen him at your Reformation Society?

A. Very frequently.

Q. Up to what time did you see Mr. Walker there?

A. Till the 29th day of April.

Q. Have you seen Thomas Dunn there?

A. Yes, I have.

Q. Have you been present when Dunn was present?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you at any of these times, when Thomas Dunn was present, see any exercising of men with arms?

A. No, never.

Q. Or

Q. Or at any other time, when Dunn was not there, did you see any exercising of men with arms?

A. Never.

Q. Did you at any time hear any language whatever from Mr. Thomas Walker, or any other persons, inciting the society to exercise with arms, for any purpose, and what?

A. No, I never saw them exercise with arms.

Q. In what place did this Reformation Society meet?

A. In Mr. Thomas Walker's warehouse.

Q. Up stairs, or below stairs?

A. Above stairs.

Q. Do you know the height of this warehouse, from the floor to the ceiling?

A. I do not.

Q. Did you ever hear from Mr. Thomas Walker, or any other persons whatever, any language relative to cutting off the head of the King, or any thing of a similar tendency?

A. Never in my life.

Q. Did you ever hear or see from Mr. Thomas Walker, any language or conduct whatever, that tended to incite the people against the government, or to any similar purpose?

A. I never did.

Q. Did you ever see in Mr. Thomas Walker, or any other persons whatever attending that society, any conduct unbecoming honest men and good subjects?

A. Never.

Q. Did you ever see any arms at any time in the warehouse?

A. Just after the riot I saw some pieces of cannon; there were five or six.

Q. What sort of cannon were they, twenty-four or forty-eight pounders?

A. I do not properly understand them.

Q. What length were they?

A. About three quarters of a yard long.

Q. Did you ever see any musketry there?

A. No, never but on the twelth of December.

Q. You never saw any musketry at any time during your attendance, but on the night of the riot, or the night after?

A. No, that was one musket in Mr. Walker's kitchen.

Q. How often did you see that?

A. Never but once.

James Roberts.

Cross-examined by Mr. *Johnson.*

Q. What are you?

A. I am in a warehouse.

Q. What

Q. What trade are you?

A. I am in a warehouse.

Q. What are you?

A. A warehouseman.

Q. Who do you live with?

A. Messrs. Nichols and Roberts.

Q. Who introduced you into this society?

A. I was not introduced by any person.

Q. How came you to go there?

A. I went there the 12th of December, the night following the first riot.

Q. Were there more riots than one?

A. The mob met two days together.

Q. I asked who introduced you to this society; you said, nobody. When did you go to it first?

A. The 12th of December was the first time I went to Mr. Walker's.

Q. When was the first time you went to the society?

A. The 20th of December.

Q. Was you a member then?

A. No, I did not become a member until the 31st of December.

Q. You said, just now, you became a member on the 31st of January 1798?

Mr. Serjeant *Cockell.* You have taken him down wrong.

Mr. *Johnson.* What was your inducement to become a member of this Reformation Society?

A. They wished a fair representation of the people in parliament.

Mr. Justice *Heath.* Don't let us enquire into that.

Mr. *Erskine.* It is evidence for the defendants, and if the gentlemen choose to ask it, I have a right to the evidence.

A. On the 12th of December, as I was at work, I saw a great concourse of people met in the Market-place; I thought there would be a riot in the evening; I went out, went into the Church-yard, and went to Mr. Walker's house that night; and I saw such conduct in Mr. Walker and the people that were there, that it made me determine to enter among them.

Mr. *Johnson.* You say you saw no exercising, but you did see arms?

A. I never saw any fire-arms, but one musket.

Q. Did you see no other fire-arms?

A. Yes, six pieces of cannon.

Q. Were they large enough to carry a pound ball?

A. I cannot tell, I was never used to them.

Q. Did you see any blunderbusses there?

A. I

A. I do not recollect seeing any blunderbusses there.

Q. Did you ever hear any books read there?

A. I heard one book read.

Q. What was it?

A. They called it the Irish Address to the Scotch.

Q. Who read that?

A. Mr. Walker did.

Q. Perhaps you cannot recollect any particular passage in it?

A. No.

Mr. *Erskine.* I dare say you recollect that is not evidence, therefore you ask it.

Mr. *Law.* It confirms him as to the reading of books there.

Mr. Justice *Heath.* There is no doubt, your witness was there.

Mr. *Johnson.* You heard that read by Mr. Walker?

A. Yes.

Mr. *Vaughan.* They did not shoulder these swivels, did they?

A. No, never.

Mary Denham (sworn).

Examined by Mr. *Erskine.*

Q. How long have you lived as a servant with Mr. Walker?

A. For two years upon the 10th of March last.

Q. Do you remember the attack made upon your master's house?

A. Yes.

Q. Was you in the house at that time?

A. Yes.

Q. I suppose you was pretty much frightened?

A. Yes, I was.

Q. Do you remember any cannon?

A. Yes.

Q. When were these cannon brought to town?

A. The day after the riot.

Q. Where were they before?

A. In the country.

Q. At Barlow-Hall, where Mr. Walker lives?

A. Yes.

Q. They are little things upon carriages?

A. Yes.

Q. They were brought into town the day after the riot?

A. Yes.

Q. Before

Q. Before the time that these cannon came, do you remember seeing fire-arms in your master's house?

A. No.

Q. Was you admitted to all the parts of the warehouse, and the house—you went where you pleased, I suppose?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you ever see any men exercising with arms there?

A. No.

Q. Did you ever hear of any thing like it?

A. No.

Q. Did you ever see any arms there before the time of the riots?

A. No.

Q. If any such exercise of people with arms had taken place, must you not have known it?

A. Yes.

Q. Why should you have known it?

A. They could not do it in the warehouse, or house, without my seeing or hearing it.

Q. Did you ever either see any such thing done, or hear of its being done.

A. No, never.

Q. Can you take upon you to swear that it was not done?

A. Yes.

Q. After the riots, we understand these cannon, and some muskets, and other arms were brought for the purpose of defending the house?

A. Yes.

Q. What was done with them after the 12th of December?

A. They went into the country again I believe.

Q. What was it that went into the country again?

A. The cannon.

Q. What became of the blunderbusses, pistols, and muskets?

A. I never saw any.

Q. You never saw any after the riot, nor before?

A. No.

Q. You don't know where these cannon went to?

A. No, I saw no more of them.

Mary Denham.

Cross-examined by Mr. *James.*

Q. Were you a member of any of these Reformation Societies?

A. No.

A. No.

Q. Did you ever attend them?

A. No.

Q. How could you tell what was going forward at any of those meetings? you did not generally attend the warehouse.

A. No.

Q. Your business was in the house?

A. Yes.

Q. But how can you pretend to say what was done in the warehouse; they might have been in the warehouse for what you know?

A. Not to exercise they could not; I must have seen them through the windows.

Q. Have you been accustomed to see men exercise?

A. I have seen the soldiers exercise.

Q. They did not always fire when they exercised?

A. No.

Q. Have you not seen them exercise, when they made very little noise?

A. No, I do not know that I have.

Q. Have you never seen them present, and rise, and kneel, and so on; you say there were no blunderbusses or muskets?

A. I never saw any.

Q. And if there was, you must have seen them, must you?

A. Yes.

Mr. *Erskine.* Is there not a double light through the warehouse?

A. Yes.

Q. If they had been exercising with fire-arms there, must you not have seen and heard them?

A. Yes.

Martha Wilkinson (sworn).

Examined by Mr. Serjeant *Cockell.*

Q. I understand you live in the service of Mr. Walker; you attend the Miss Walkers, as their maid?

A. Yes.

Q. How long have you lived in Mr. Walker's service?

A. More than three years and a half.

Q. Where was you at the time of the riot, the first night Mr. Walker's house was attacked?

A. At Barlow.

Q. Mr. Walker's country residence?

A. Yes.

Q. When did you return from Barlow?

A. The day after.

 Q. How

Q. How long did you continue after you had returned from Barlow?

A. Till the beginning of May.

Q. During that period you lived in his house at Manchester?

A. I did.

Q. Do you remember after your return from Barlow, whether any arms of any sort were sent for?

A. No.

Q. Do you remember the cannon?

A. Yes.

Q. Where did they come from?

A. From Barlow, before I came.

Q. How long before?

A. The same day I came.

Q. That was the day after the riot?

A. Yes.

Q. You know Mr. Walker's warehouse?

A. Yes.

Q. Can you from any room in the house see into the warehouse?

A. Yes.

Q. Is the warehouse so near to that part of the house, from whence you can see into the warehouse, that if any noise, for instance the clattering of ramrods, or any thing of that sort had happened, you could have heard them?

A. Yes.

Q. You have seen soldiers exercise at Manchester?

A. I cannot say I ever did.

Q. But if there had been any noise of that sort, you was near enough to have heard, and to have seen?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you ever hear or see at any time in your life, any men exercising in arms at Mr. Walker's?

A. No, never.

Q. If such a thing had happened when these weekly meetings were held, must you not at some time or other have heard it?

A. Most certainly I must.

Q. And you are prepared, safely and conscientiously to swear, that no such thing happened?

A. I am.

Q. Describe the situation of this window?

A. There is but a narrow yard that parts the warehouse and the house, and the windows of the warehouse, and the windows of the room in which I was, were opposite.

Q. Then if any thing of that sort had happened, you must have seen and heard it?

A. I

A. I certainly should.

Q. Do you know the height of the warehouse?

A. I do not.

Q. You know the gentlemen who came to Mr. Walker's; you know that clubs were held there?

A. Yes.

Q. I confine myself to the time during the holding of the clubs; did you ever hear any noise then of arms?

A. Never.

Q. Did you ever see any exercising of men at those times, or at any other?

A. Never.

Martha Wilkinson.

Cross-examined by Mr. *Law.*

Q. In what room do you usually live?

A. In the nursery; the nursery in general.

Q. Is the nursery higher or lower than the warehouse?

A. From the nursery windows we can see into several rooms of the warehouse.

Q. Is it higher or lower?

A. It is higher than one part of the warehouse, and lower than another.

Q. Is it as high as the upper room of the warehouse?

A. It is not quite so high.

Q. Will you say, that you can conveniently, from that room, see into the upper room of the warehouse?

A. We can see into it.

Q. Can you see from one end to the other of the warehouse, from the nursery?

A. Yes, from one end to the other of the upper warehouse.

Q. The upper warehouse of all?

A. Yes.

Q. And was you every night, for forty nights together, when these persons were there, so watching their proceedings, that you could know if a person had put a musket to his shoulder?

A. I was not constantly watching, but I have no doubt if there had been such a thing I should have known it?

Q. Did you observe all that passed there?

A. We frequently watched them.

Q. What did they do when you watched them?

A. We never saw but they were sitting still.

Q. Talking?

A. Yes.

Q. You saw books, I take for granted?

A. No,

A. No, I did not.

Q. You never saw any thing read?

A. Never.

Q. But if there had been Paine's book, or any other book read, you must have seen it?

A. I did not see any book.

Q. If they had been so employed, you must have seen that too?

A. I cannot say.

Q. Why could not you see a book held up, just as well as see a musket held up?

A. I never did see a book read.

Q. How many might there be in the room at a time?

A. I cannot say the exact number.

Q. You have seen Dunn there?

A. No.

Q. Were there twenty, thirty, forty, fifty there?

A. I cannot tell.

Q. Do you think there were so many as forty or fifty?

A. I do not know.

Q. Had you never the curiosity to count them when there was a good number?

A. Never.

Q. But if there had been books, you think you must have seen them, and you never saw any read?

A. I never saw any book read.

Martha Wilkinson.

Re-examined by Mr. Serjeant *Cockell.*

Q. From this nursery, in which you frequently were in the evenings, if there had been men exercising, you must have seen them?

A. Yes.

Q. What sort of windows are the warehouse windows?

A. Nearly the length of the warehouse.

Francis Roberts (sworn).

Examined by Mr. *Chambre.*

Q. You are a servant to Mr. Walker?

A. Yes.

Q. How long have you lived with him?

A. I came to live with Mr. Walker in the year 1791; I have lived with him ever since.

Q. You were servant to him, of course, when the riots happened in Manchester?

A. I

A. I was.

Q. Mr. Walker has a house at Manchester, and a country-house at Barlow?

A. He has.

Q. At the time of the riots were you at Manchester, or Barlow?

A. At Barlow.

Q. When did you come from Barlow?

A. The morning following.

Q. Do you know what fire-arms Mr. Walker had for the protection of both his houses?

A. There was nothing for the protection of his house except two pistols, and two blunderbusses, and two fowling pieces that I ever saw.

Q. Had he any swivels?

A. Yes, half a dozen.

Q. Where were the swivels at the time when the riot happened?

A. At Barlow-Hall.

Q. When were they removed from Barlow to Manchester?

A. The day after the riots.

Q. You don't know how he became possessed of those swivels?

A. I do not.

Q. When you came from Barlow, how long did you continue at Manchester?

A. We came the 12th of December, and returned back the 5th of May.

Q. Immediately after you came on the 12th of December, and for some time after, was there any watch kept at Mr. Walker's house, to prevent any mischief being done to the house—did people sit up all night?

A. Yes, they did.

Q. Did you sit up for the protection of the house sometimes?

A. Yes.

Q. How long were they obliged, for the security of the house, to keep up this sort of watch?

A. For the course of a month, or thereabouts.

Q. Were you often among those that sat up?

A. I was.

Q. Of course you were in the house at all the meetings of the Reformation Society, that took place between the 12th of December and the 5th of May?

A. I was.

Q. Had you ever occasion to go into the room where these meetings were held?

A. I

A. I had frequent occasion.

Q. Were these meetings held with open doors, or were the doors locked?

A. I always found the doors wide open.

Q. There was no sort of secrecy about the purposes of of their meeting?

A. Not to my knowledge.

Q. Have you stayed any time when people were in the room, so as to hear the conversation that passed?

A. I cannot say I have.

Q. Did you ever at any time hear any expressions made use of, damning the King?

A. Nothing of the sort.

Q. Did you ever hear any expressions of any sort made use of, to incite any of the people there to break the peace?

A. I have no knowledge of any thing of the sort.

Q. Was there any exercise of men with guns or other arms?

A. Nothing of the sort.

Q. Do you think you must have known it, if any such thing had been practised in the place where these people met, or in any part of your master's house?

A. I am sure such things could not be made use of, but I should have come to the knowledge of it, some how or other.

Q. Did you at any time whatever see or hear any thing done or said there, that had any tendency to disturb the public peace?

A. I never did.

Francis Roberts.

Cross-examined by Mr. *Wood.*

Q. How many people might there be at those meetings when you saw them?

A. There might be twenty or thirty, and sometimes more.

Q. How many men do you think there might be, fifty or sixty, perhaps?

A. I believe not so many.

Q. How many do you think?

A. There might be thirty-five, or so.

Q. Is that the most you ever saw?

A. I do not know in particular that it is.

Q. Have you not seen sixty, or more, there?

A. No.

Q. You won't go higher than thirty-five?

A. No.

A. No, I will not.

Q. Did you know those people that had got there?

A. No.

Q. I believe you was very seldom at those meetings; did you ever stay a meeting through, from beginning to end?

A. No.

Q. How long might you stay at a time?

A. Three or four minutes, or so, while I delivered my message.

Q. When you stayed up to protect this house, what had you to protect it with?

A. We had a sword or two.

Q. How many might stay up with you? did any of the people that attended these meetings stay with you?

A. They did.

Q. The Reformation Society stayed with you, did they?

A. Some of those people that met in the warehouse.

Q. How many nights might they stay up with you?

A. I cannot pretend to say how many.

Q. How many may you have had at a time to stay up with you?

A. Four or five.

Q. Not always the same people, I suppose?

A. No.

Francis Roberts.

Re-examined by Mr. *Chambre.*

Q. You never particularly, I suppose, counted the number, to know exactly how many there might be?

A. I never did.

Mr. *Edward Green* (sworn).

Examined by Mr. *Lloyd.*

Q. You, I believe, were apprentice to Mr. Walker, and brought up in his warehouse?

A. Yes.

Q. How long have you been with him?

A. It will be eight years in July.

Q. Do you remember the night of the riots?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you remember whether there were any arms got to defend Mr. Walker's house?

A. Yes, there were some got.

Q. Do you know what arms they were?

A. They

A. They were muskets.

Q. Were there any swivels?

A. No.

Q. Not that night?

A. No.

Mr. Justice *Heath.* How many muskets?

A. I do not know the number.

Mr. *Lloyd.* Were you in the house the first night of the riot?

A. I was.

Q. Do you know when the swivels were bought?

A. They were a present to Master Walker, by Mr. Jackson; they were bought at Mr. Livesey's sale.

Q. Do you know any occasion upon which those swivels were fired?

A. I remember they were fired upon the anniversary of the repeal of the fustian tax.

Q. At any other time?

A. I was not present at any other time.

Q. What is your business at Mr. Walker's, chiefly.

A. In the foreign counting house.

Q. Is that up stairs, or below, in his warehouse?

A. Up stairs.

Mr. Justice *Heath.* Do you live in the house?

A. I lived in the house five years.

Mr. *Lloyd.* In what part of the warehouse is the foreign counting-house?

A. It looks towards Salford, up two pair of stairs.

Q. Do you know the room where the societies met?

A. It was in a room up another pair of stairs, where the societies met.

Q. Have you ever had occasion to go into that room when they were met?

A. I had frequent occasions to go up to Mr. Walker upon business?

Q. Did you find the door either locked or fastened?

A. Never.

Q. Did they seem to be about secret business?

A. Not at all.

Q. Did you go in without interruption?

A. Yes.

Q. Have you had occasion to go in more than once in an evening?

A. I may have gone two or three times, not finding Mr. Walker in the first time.

Q. How near is that room to the room where you used to sit writing?

A. Up another pair of stairs.

Q. Is

Q. Is part of that room, over the room that you was in?
A. It is.
Q. Did you ever see any men exercising with arms when you went up?
A. Never.
Q. When you were writing, did you ever hear any arms clashing?
A. Never.
Q. Were there carpets upon the floor, or any thing of that kind, to prevent the sound?
A. No.
Q. I understand that you never saw any men exercising with arms?
A. Never.
Q. Do you know what is the height of that room?
A. I do not know.
Q. Do you know whether it is such a room that a man could shoulder a firelock?
A. I do not know; I never took particular notice.
Q. Did you send word before you went in, or go in without giving notice?
A. Without giving notice.
Q. When you went in, did you hear any conversation—did you ever hear Mr. Walker damn the King?
A. No.
Q. Or talk of overturning the constitution?
A. Never.
Q. Did you hear any conversation of aiding and assisting the French?
A. No.
Q. You never heard any thing of the kind?
A. No.
Q. When you went in, did they seem instantly to cease their conversation, or to go on with it?
A. They went on with the business they were about.
Q. Whenever you went in, did you hear Mr. Walker, or any other person, say any thing to excite disturbance of the peace?
A. Not at all.
Q. Or exciting them to take up arms to aid the French?
A. No, never.
Q. Or for any other purpose?
A. No, by no means, I never heard any thing of the kind.
Q. Or to overthrow the constitution?
A. No.

Mr. *Edward Green.*

Cross-examined by Mr. *Topping.*

Q. If I understand you, you have been several years with Mr. Walker?

A. Yes, I have known Mr. Walker eleven years.

Q. You was a person, therefore, perfectly well known as one of Mr. Walker's family?

A. Yes.

Q. Can you take upon you to say, how many people you have ever seen assembled at any one time?

A. Very likely seventeen, eighteen, or twenty.

Q. Will you take upon yourself to say, you have not seen to the number of fifty or sixty at a time?

A. Upon the night of the riots there were a good many.

Q. Can you take upon you to say, you have not seen to the number of fifty or sixty assembled?

A. I will take upon me to swear I have not seen, what I conceive to be, such a number as that.

Q. You don't mean to say you can form any accurate estimate of the number?

A. No.

Q. You was not a member of this society?

A. I was not.

Q. You never went up to this room, unless you had occasion to speak to Mr. Walker, then you went, and he was called out to you?

A. I always went in to him.

Q. My friend has asked you as to having heard, or not, expressions used about the King; now can you take upon you to swear what they were doing, from what you heard?

A. Their conversation seemed to turn upon the question of a reform in parliament.

Q. Whether you mean to swear, that you knew or ever heard from any individual there, any particular expressions used at all, that you can relate to the Jury?

A. I do not.

Q. You was not a member of the society?

A. No.

Q. Your object in going there was not to learn what they were doing?

A. No.

Q. When you did go there, it was merely to speak to Mr. Walker about his own business as a merchant?

A. Yes.

Q. What size is the room in which this society was held?

A. It is a long room.

Q. And

Q. And will hold a great number of people, will it not?
A. It will hold a good many people.
Q. Is it the length, or half the length of this room?
A. I think it is nearly the length of this room.
Q. Is there not another room upon the same floor; does all the attic story make only one room?
A. There is another room.
Q. There is another room upon the same floor, besides the room in which the society was held?
A. Yes, there is.
Q. You said you thought part of it was over the counting house where you are?
A. Yes, part of it is over that room.

Mr. *Edward Green.*

Re-examined by Mr. *Lloyd.*

Q. The reason why you think the warehouse is over the counting house is, that both rooms look into Salford?
A. Yes both rooms come to the end of the building.
Q. Was it any part of your business to see that all the fires were out in this warehouse, and to lock up at night?
A. It is my general custom to go through the warehouse, and to lock it up.
Q. Did you find any arms lying there, when you went through the rooms to lock all up?
A. Never.
Q. Did you go into this room generally?
A. Yes, I did.
Q. And you did not see any arms lying there?
A. Never.

Mr. *George Duckworth* (sworn).

Examined by Mr. *Vaughan.*

Q. Are you acquainted with the house of Mr. Walker, at Manchester?
A. I am.
Q. You are also acquainted with the warehouse of that house, and the height of it?
A. Yes, Mr. Walker took me through the house and warehouse a few days ago, to shew them to me; I had not seen the warehouse before, only occasionally when I went on business. Mr. Walker shewed me the different rooms of the warehouse upon every story. I measured the height of two stories, which appeared to be the highest, and the lowest.

est. The highest room, to the best of my recollection (for I did not expect to be examined here) was nine feet high between the beams, and eight feet six inches high under the beams.

Mr. *Law*. You did not measure them?

A. Yes, I did.

Q. Did you make any minute?

A. No. The lowest story was seven feet six inches high under the beams, and eight feet between the beams; I took a musket out of the room in which Mr. Walker had put the arms, and fixed the bayonet, to shoulder it: when I shouldered it, the point of the bayonet touched the ceiling: if I had thrown it up to my shoulder in the manner they do in the manual exercise, the bayonet would have stuck into the ceiling; I could not poise it. This was the highest room in the warehouse. The rooms in the uppermost story are the highest.

Mr. *George Duckworth*.

Cross-examined by Mr. *Law*.

Q. You had no idea of giving any account of this at Lancaster, when you made the measurement?

A. No. I desired Mr. Walker to get some person to make the measurement.

Q. Are you not the attorney for Mr. Walker?

A. I am, but I did not examine the whole of the evidence. Mr. Seddon examined some of the witnesses.

Q. You say you made no minute in writing of this?

A. I did not.

Q. Where did you get the musket that you tried with?

A. Out of the room where Mr. Walker had the small collection of arms, which he informed me were what he had at the time of the riots.

Q. So you had a musket!

A. Yes.

Q. How many did you see in the armoury?

A. About a dozen, I believe, of one sort or other. The arms were covered with dust. The room was full of dust. The arms were of different sorts.

Q. There were twelve muskets?

A. No, not twelve muskets, but different kinds of fire-arms.

Q. With bayonets all?

A. There were some musketoons with spring bayonets.

Mr. *Walker*. I have an inventory in my pocket, of the arms I had at the time of the riots; I have the arms *now*.

The

The inventory *(offering it to Mr. Law)* is very much at your service.

Mr. *Law.* The beam of this room comes very deep down, does it?

A. About six inches.

Q. Supposing there had been no beams coming down, the room would have been the height of nine feet?

A. Yes.

Q. What did you measure with?

A. Mr. Walker had a four-foot rule.

Q. You made no minute at the time?

A. I did not.

Q. Did you advise a carpenter to be sent for to measure it?

A. I desired Mr. Walker would get some person to measure it.

Mr. *Duckworth.*

Re-examined by Mr. *Vaughan.*

Q. What arms were they that you saw there? were they different sorts of arms?

A. A few muskets, a few musketoons, ——

Q. What are musketoons something of the nature of a blunderbuss?

A. Yes.

Mr. Justice *Heath.* There is one objection, I should be glad to hear what Mr. Law says upon it—it struck me early in the course of this business—*I did not mention it out of tenderness to the defendant, that he might have an opportunity of clearing his character, by calling his witnesses, but it appears to me that this can be nothing else than high treason.*

Mr. *Law.* I submit to your Lordship, that it is not high treason; but at the same time, if these facts could be so understood, the Crown might prosecute as for a misdemeanor; that was settled in the case of the King against Hampden*, and it has been laid down in a great number of cases.

* The precedent here alluded to, is the trial of Mr. Hampden, for a misdemeanor, in the latter end of the reign *of Charles the second*, February the 6th, 1683, before JUDGE JEFFERIES; when Mr. Hampden was fined by him and the rest of the Judges of the King's-Bench, in the sum of FORTY THOUSAND POUNDS!

Mr. Hampden remarked to the court, that his father being alive, his fortune was but small, and that merely a life estate. To this Mr. Justice Withins said, that they could not take cognizance of what his estate was; the punishment was to be proportioned to the offence, and the Chief Justice (JEFFERIES) added, that considering *some verdicts*, this would be thought *a moderate fine.*

On passing this sentence, Mr. Hampden was told by the Court, that the matter of the offence was such as would have made him guilty of HIGH TREASON, had there been two witnesses. The essence of a crime therefore *(according to this precedent)* does not consist in the nature of the act committed, but

cases. I could cite authorities from Lord Chief Justice Hale, and other books, where the Crown has prosecuted as for

but is to be *at one time* HIGH TREASON, *at another something else*, as the prosecutor is prepared with one or more witnesses to prove it.

Mr. Hampden remained in prison, and under execution for the fine, till the 30th of December 1685, *the first year of James the second*, when a new witness appearing, he was *again* indicted for *the same offence*, but then laid as HIGH TREASON. "His friends offered money for his pardon "to some in power, who were the Lord *(Judge)* JEFFERIES, and Mr. "Petre, the sum was SIX THOUSAND POUNDS, *and that was effectual*. It "is not possible for a man to suffer more than he did."

"*By the help of the money*, on condition he would plead guilty to his "indictment, he was to come off; whereupon, pleading guilty, he was "discharged; paying 300l. or 400l. to *Burton* and *Graham* for the charge "of his pardon."

"His abject submission did indeed procure him a pardon; but the "shame of such a mean behaviour so sunk and disordered his spirits, that "he was never quite right after it; and about ten years after he cut his "own throat." *State Trials*, Vol. III. page 823. Vol. IV. page 210, and Vol. VIII. page 480.

The fine of FORTY THOUSAND POUNDS, without regarding the amount of a man's fortune, and the doctrine of converting high treason into a misdemeanor, both stand upon the same precedent—The one is *as justifiable* as the other.

But is it consistent with the spirit of the laws of England, that the difference of the technical phrases in an indictment, shall put a man into the peril of that *judicial discretion*, which may fine him FORTY THOUSAND POUNDS, whether he has it or not, and commit him until it be paid? that is, in other words, WHICH MAY IMPRISON HIM FOR LIFE.

Since Mr Hampden's trial, and soon after the Revolution, viz. in the 7th of Wm. 3. an act was passed "for regulating trials in cases of treason, and "misprision of treason," wherein it was enacted, that every person accused and indicted for high treason, or misprision of treason, should have a true copy of the whole indictment delivered to him five days at the least before his trial; and that no person should be indicted, tried, or attainted of high treason, or misprision of treason, but by and upon the oaths and testimony of two lawful witnesses, either both of them to the same overt act, or one of them to one, and the other of them to another overt act of the *same treason*. And that every person, who should be so accused, indicted, and tried, should have a copy of the panel of the jurors returned to try him, delivered to him two days at the least before his trial, and that no evidence should be admitted or given of any overt act, not *expressly* laid in the indictment. And by an act passed in the 7th of Anne, "for improving the union of the two "kingdoms," it was further enacted, that every person indicted for high treason, or misprision of treason, should have a list of the witnesses to be produced on the trial for proving the said indictment, and also a list of the jury, with the names, professions, and places of abode of the witnesses and jurors, together with a copy of the indictment; and that the same should be delivered to the party indicted, ten days before the trial, in the presence of two or more credible witnesses.

But these statutes are no longer a protection for the subject, if he may be proceeded against for a *conspiracy*, which is only another name for the same accusation, while it removes and destroys these salutary provisions and safeguards of the people.

It was unnecessary for Mr. Walker and the other defendants, indeed it would not have become them, to avoid the verdict of a jury, by resorting to any legal objections; yet if the doctrine laid down in the case of Hampden

for a misdemeanor—that the Crown, in cases of felony, might drop some of the circumstances, and prosecute as for a misdemeanor—the Crown may elect to prosecute the crime in its mildest form. This is a point of such magnitude, and having been solemnly decided in cases I could refer to in the STATE TRIALS, I beg your Lordship to have the goodness to let this be found upon a special verdict.

Mr. *Erskine.* No—no.

Mr. *Law.* I want to have the fact found—I pray it with the joint advice of some of the most learned persons in the profession, I mean Mr. Serjeant Hill, THE ATTORNEY AND SOLICITOR GENERAL †.

Mr. *Erskine.* Whatever opinion I may entertain upon the argument Mr. Law has offered to your Lordship, I will not controvert it here; but I shall insist upon the twelve honourable gentlemen in that box, telling the people of England, whether aye or no, my clients ought to be convicted, after the testimony I am in the course of giving.

Mr. *Law.* I am equally before those gentlemen and the people of England, for the protection of the people of England; if you rise in this tone, I can speak as loudly and as emphatically—I will prosecute these men with all the liberality of a gentleman, there is nothing has betrayed improper passion on my part, but no tone or manner shall put me down.

Mr. *Erskine.* I am not accusing Mr. Law of any impropriety or illiberality of conduct at all; I have said nothing to that effect; for the only time in which I have named his name, or hinted at it, I have spoken of him with respect; nothing can be interpreted to the contrary: but a man, if he is not made of stone, must have some feelings in a case of this sort. In whatever way your Lordship may rule this point, I shall be satisfied; I might have asked your Lordship's opinion early, but the same reason that induced your Lordship

den be *at this day* law, how many innocent men, under a *state prosecution*, without any previous knowledge of the jurymen and their political partialities, may upon the PERJURY *of a single witness, be thus sent to prison for the rest of their days?* and where are the benefits of the acts of William and Anne, if they are to be evaded, under a precedent established before those acts were passed, in the most infamous times, and by the most iniquitous of judges?

† It seems not a little extraordinary that *the* ATTORNEY GENERAL *for the County Palatine of Lancaster* should pray *to let the fact be found*, upon a special verdict—that is, in other words, *to let Dunn's evidence be admitted as true*, though even *in this stage of the trial*, it had been *positively disproved* by so many respectable witnesses, and Dunn was (while in court) committed by the Judge for PERJURY. The defendants would by this means, have subjected themselves to be punished, as if they had been *actually guilty* of the crime they were accused of, although they were *perfectly innocent of every part of the charge*, and were in consequence HONOURABLY ACQUITTED.

Lordship so liberally and graciously not to communicate your own opinion, governed me.

Mr. Justice *Heath.* You wish it to go to the Jury.

Mr. *Erskine.* Yes I most certainly do.

Mr. *Walker.* I am before my country, and I will go to the Jury. *In our situation, even the delay of justice, would be the height of injustice.*

Mr. *Law.* I cannot find it standing upon any authority, but a case in Dyer.

Mr. Justice *Heath.* It has been always held that the misdemeanor is merged in the felony.

Mr. *Erskine.* When Mr. Law has heard the evidence out, for we have by no means done, if he should then think it becomes the Crown to go on, he will do so, and then let the point of law be reserved in any way most agreeable to your Lordship; *but I will have the fact before the Jury.*

Mr. *Law.* If it ends in your clients' exculpation, I shall be as happy as you; *but I shall see that it does so.*

Mr. *William Seddon* (sworn).

Examined by Mr. *Erskine.*

Q. Have you ever seen this man, Dunn, who has been examined to-day?

A. I have.

Q. How did it happen that you saw him?

A. Mr. Walker, Mr. Richard Walker, Mr. Duckworth, Mr. Jackson, and myself, were upon business at my house, on Tuesday the 18th of December last: I was particularly busy in my office preparing for the assizes, but I was desired to come out upon a matter of moment. When I came into the house, I was told by Mr. Walker ———

Q. Did Thomas Dunn come?

A. No, not to my house; I went down to Mr. Richard Walker's with Mr. Duckworth; I stayed there some time: when I came there, I understood Dunn was in the parlour with Mr. Walker, Mr. Richard Walker, Mr. Jones, and Mr. Ridgway.

Mr. *Law.* What is the paper you are referring to?

A. Notes I took down at the time. Mr. Duckworth, Mr. Jones the attorney, and Mr. Ridgway the attorney, were with me at Mr. Richard Walker's; but Mr. Ridgway and Mr. Jones were not present at any part of the conversation I am speaking to.

Mr. *Erskine.* Subsequent to this time, did Thomas Dunn, the man who has been examined to-day, come into the house?

A. He came the second time about eleven o'clock, Mr. Walker,

Walker, Mr. Duckworth, Mr. Richard Walker, and myself, were present—he knocked at the door, and came into the room; he first wanted to speak to Mr. Walker *alone*, or to Mr. Richard Walker: on being desired to speak, he repeatedly objected, and declared he would say nothing before so many witnesses; Mr. Walker told him he must speak before them, or not at all—he then desired Mr. Walker to sit along side of him, and he would esteem it an honour, and tell him every thing. Mr. Walker refused. Dunn then stood up, and desired Mr. Walker to give him his hand—I am just now informed that I said this happened on the 18th of December; if I did, I made a mistake, it was on the 18th of last month.

Q. Did you take these notes at the time?

A. I took down the latter part of the conversation, which I have not yet come to, from Dunn's own lips, I made a minute of this immediately after he was gone.

Mr. *Erskine.* Then I conceive, I am allowed to desire the witness, to look at that paper to refresh his memory.

Mr. *Law.* How soon afterwards did you put it down?

A. This part *(the witness holding a paper in one hand)* the moment he was gone; the other *(shewing another paper)* I took from his own lips. Dunn stood up, and desired Mr. Walker to give him his hand, and he should esteem it a greater honour than if George the third did. This Mr. Walker again refused, and told him he had sworn falsely against him; Dunn acknowledged he had, and that he had not had a quiet night for thirteen weeks. He then rose from his chair, and threw himself upon his knees, and seized both Mr. Walker's hands, and exclaimed with a great deal of emotion, "I have done you injustice, and I beg your pardon," he then cried excessively, and addressing himself to the defendant Mr. Walker, said "My heart is "almost broken, I am unhappy; I have certainly done you "wrong;" he then went down upon his knees to Mr. Walker again. Mr. Richard Walker then put this question to him, *Who instigated you?* Dunn replied, "*I am* "*afraid to tell that*, I have not slept a contented night "these thirteen weeks together, on your brother's account. "Do not you know I wished him well? I have lodged an "indictment against him, but it is a damn'd eternal false-"hood." At this stage of the business he again cried very much, threw himself down upon a table, and was in an apparent agony for about ten minutes. When he recovered he seemed very composed and sedate, much more so than he was before. As soon as he lifted his head from the table, (after he had done crying) Mr. Thomas Walker asked him if he did not feel easier? to which he made no parti-

cular answer, but said, "The charge was taken down "wrong at Manchester." Mr. Richard Walker then put this question to him, "How could you, when you say "you wished my brother so well, *be prevailed upon* to "accuse him so wrongfully?" to which Dunn answered, "that's a very cross question." The same question was put again by Mr. Richard Walker, to which Dunn said, "I want Mr. Walker to forgive me, and I will do "him justice hereafter. I wish you would get a constable "to take me up, and let *me* be tried." Mr. Walker then said, "you admit you have done me an injury?" to which Dunn replied, "yes, I have, every person knows it, except "Yorke. What I swore in my first examination, and at "Lancaster, were very different, not at all alike. I was "called before the Grand Jury three times; I will never "go to Lancaster at the assizes, and let Griffith and the "rest of them do as they please, and be damned." Mr. Richard Walker repeated this question to him, "*Who in-*"*stigated you to do wrong?*" Dunn said, "I won't an-"swer such questions." I then asked him what day he had charged the offence as committed? His answer to me was, "between the 28th and the 30th of January 1793." Dunn then, of his own accord, speaking to Mr. Walker, said, "What shall I say to you, I have done you an injury, "and I am sorry, what can I say more." I then said to him, "who set you on?" Dunn answered, "I know I "behaved ill, I WAS BRIBED TO IT, THAT IS "PLUMP; but I won't tell who did it, that shall for ever "rest in my own breast." After the above conversation was ended, which I took down verbatim, in question and answer, Dunn left the room.

Thomas Dunn called up again.

Mr. Justice *Heath*. Well, Dunn, you have heard this evidence; did that pass, or any part of it?

Dunn. No, nothing at all—yes, something of it passed.

Mr. Justice *Heath*. How much of it passed?

A. I went there *when I was intoxicated, the same as I am now.*

Mr. *Law*. Have you been out of the court?

A. Yes, I have.

Mr. Justice *Heath*. How long have you been intoxicated?

A. Not very long; I have my recollection about me, though it may seem to the court that I may be ill, or may not.

Mr. Justice *Heath*. Were you intoxicated when you gave your evidence just now?

A. I

A. I was not.

Mr. Justice *Heath.* You have been intoxicated since then?

A. Yes.

Mr. *Law.* How much of that conversation is true? there is some part you say is true.

A. I was at Mr. Walker's house about a fortnight hence; I went in to Mr. Walker; I was brought in by a constable of Manchester, and upon that I met Mr. Richard Walker, brother to Mr. Thomas Walker.

Q. What is the constable's name?

A. One Twiss. Mr. Richard Walker asked me, Dunn, don't you recollect that you have done an injury to my brother? or to that purpose; well, says I, upon the first examination I lodged the first indictment against him.

Mr. Justice *Heath.* Has any body been with you, while you were out?

A. No.

Mr. *Erskine.* I should be glad to trace where he has been —I don't believe he has been out of court.

Mr. Justice *Heath.* Where have you been?

A. I have been down the town.

Mr. Serjeant *Cockell.* He was told to stay in court.

Mr. Justice *Heath.* Where did you dine?

A. Below the change; I don't know the house.

Mr. Justice *Heath.* Is it a house you frequented before?

A. Yes.

Mr. *Erskine.* Who dined with you?

A. The man's name is Foster.

Q. Any body else?

A. Yes, Mr. Sidebottom.

Q. Who else?

A. Nobody.

Q. Who are Sidebottom and Foster*?

Mr. *Law.* You say Mr. Seddon and Mr. Duckworth were by at Seddon's house?

A. No, he was at Mr. Walker's; all that passed, was this; he brought me, this Twiss, he intended to take me in, and to bribe me over; he gave me some money upon it, on Mr. Walker's account, drunk or sober I will speak the truth?

Mr. Justice *Heath.* I don't know how we can examine a man that is drunk.

Mr. *Law.* What was you to do for that money?

A. To go out of the way, and not appear here at these assizes.

Q. Did

* *Foster and Sidebottom were in the list of witnesses for the Crown, delivered in Court at the commencement of the trial, by the attornies for the prosecution.*

Q. Did you beg Mr. Walker to sit along side of you, and say you would esteem it as great an honour as if George the third did?

A. I never said that, upon my oath.

Mr. Justice *Heath.* How can you Mr. Law examine him, after he has told you he is intoxicated? He has made himself so exceedingly drunk, it is impossible to examine him.

Mr. *Erskine.* He denied positively he had ever been at Mr. Walker's, or was ever lured by any body to make a confession.

Mr. *Law.* Did you ever confess that the charge you made against Mr. Walker, was unfounded and false?

A. Never.

Mr. *Erskine.* Then what this gentleman has said, is false, is it?

A. I do not know, when was that?

Mr. *Seddon.* On the 18th of March.

Mr. *Law.* Did Twiss bring you there upon that occasion?

Dunn. Yes.

Q. Is he in any employ for Mr. Walker?

Dunn. He was employed five months upon this business.

Mr. *Erskine.* Hear this read over, and stand up, and remember you are in the presence of God.

(Mr. William Seddon read his notes again.)

Mr. *Erskine.* Is that true?

A. No, I never entered into any part of the house, only the door, and which was just opened for me.

Mr. *Erskine.* Mr. Seddon is swearing falsely, is he?

A. I cannot tell what he may do; he is swearing false, if he swears that.

Mr. *Erskine.* Did you go down on your knees, and cry for ten minutes?

A. You may as well tell me that I am a woman.

Q. Did you do that?

A. No, all he asked me, all I told him was this—Did not you lodge an information, so and so, and some particular words; you were drunk; I said, I will correct it next morning, *that is all that ever happened.*

Q. You never said, you had wronged Mr. Walker, and went down upon your knees?

A. I never did.

Mr. *Duckworth* (called again).

Cross-examined by Mr. *Law*.

Q. Was you present, when this man, Dunn, answered the questions put to him, in the manner Mr. Seddon has sworn just now?

A. I was.

Q. To the best of your memory and recollection, is the account that Mr. Seddon has given of it, the truth?

A. I looked it over, and it agreed with Mr. Walker's, Mr. Richard Walker's, and my recollection.

Mr. *Duckworth*.

Re-examined by Mr. *Erskine*.

Q. I ask you—(though the attorney for Mr. Walker, you are a Christian, I trust)—I ask you in the presence of God Almighty, is it true or false?

A. It is true.

Mr. *Duckworth*.

Cross-examined by Mr. *Law*.

Q. How came you all there, and how came Twiss to bring this man?

A. Mr. Thomas Walker and I had gone up to Mr. Seddon's. Mr. Jackson I think was there when I went in. Mr. Seddon was in his office. When we had been there a few minutes, Mr. Richard Walker came in, and said a message had been sent to his house, that Dunn wanted to go to Barlow, to see his brother Mr. Walker: we agreed that Mr. Jones and Mr. Ridgway junior, who had nothing to do with the prosecution, should be requested to be present to hear what passed. Mr. Seddon and I followed after.

Q. Do you think it professionally proper, when you knew that an indictment was found upon the testimony of this witness, and that he was to be the witness to sustain it at the next assizes, for you two, the attornies for the defendant, to have him alone with you, without any person on his behalf, and to examine him in this manner?

A. We thought it fitter that he should say what he chose to say, in the presence of some other person, than Mr. Seddon and myself; and, therefore, we desired Mr. Jones and Mr. Ridgway, two gentlemen of unimpeachable character, to be present. I did believe Dunn had perjured himself, from the knowledge I had of the cause; therefore, I thought

I thought it right, that what he chose to say, as a confession of his guilt, should be heard. When Mr. Jones, and Mr. Ridgway, had heard what he had to say, and had been gone from Mr. Richard Walker's about half an hour, there was a knock at the door, Dunn came in again alone, then Mr. Seddon and I, *from necessity*, and *not from choice*, went into the room.

Q. Had Mr. Jones and Mr. Ridgway taken his examination?

A. They had about half an hour before this time.

Mr. *Erskine.* Did you send for this man?

A. No.

Q. Did you employ any body to bring him to you?

A. No.

Q. But when a man had sworn falsely against Mr. Walker, you thought it right to hear his confession of his guilt?

A. I did—I thought he had perjured himself.

Q. Dunn says, that Twiss does work for Mr. Walker?

A. I never heard that he did.

Mr. *Walker.* Dunn said, Twiss was employed by me in this business.

Mr. *Law.* A man who is your fustian-cutter, is employed by you.

John Spink (sworn).

Examined by Mr. Serjeant *Cockell.*

Q. Have you any acquaintance with Mr. Thomas Walker?

A. I have none at all.

Q. He is a gentleman who is a perfect stranger to you.

A. Yes, I only know him by sight.

Q. Have you any acquaintance or connection with him?

A. None at all.

Q. Do you know a man of the name of John Twiss?

A. Yes.

Q. I understand he and you are neighbours?

A. We are.

Q. Did you happen on the 18th of March 1794, to go to Twiss's?

A. I did.

Q. Was that matter of accident?

A. It was an accident.

Q. Who did you find at the house of Twiss?

A. I found Thomas Dunn.

Q. That man behind you?

A. Yes.

Q. Be

Q. Be so good as to relate what passed at that time.

A. Dunn said, he was sorry that he had injured Mr. Walker's character in the manner he had done; that he had never seen any thing that was bad by him. He asked me to go to Barlow-Hall with him that night, to see Mr. Walker.

Q. Did that request come from him to you?

A. It did; I told him I would not go with him at that time of night, but if he chose, I would go with him the next day; he said, no, he would see Mr. Walker before he slept; I said, he had better send to see whether Mr. Walker was in town, or not, to save him the labour of going. Esther Ottey went to see whether Mr. Walker was at home; she went to Mr. Thomas Walker's house in town, the servant told her he was in town, but he was gone out to tea and supper; when she came back, Dunn desired Esther Ottey and me to go to Mr. Richard Walker's, and see if he was at home.

Q. Did you, or did Twiss at this time, force the conversation, or was it entirely from himself?

A. He said it voluntarily of himself.

Q. Did you draw him on by any thing?

A. Not at all ———

Mr. *Erskine.* Speak up.

One of the Jury. It does not signify, we have been satisfied a long while.

A. I went out with Esther Ottey, to Mr. Richard Walker's; he said, if Thomas Dunn wanted to see him, he might come up in the course of half an hour, and he would let his brother know. I suppose he did let him know. Esther Ottey went up to see if he was come in half an hour. He was not at home, she waited a little time,—then we took Dunn there, John Twiss and me, and left him at Mr. Richard Walker's door.

Q. Was he carried in custody at all?

A. No, *he desired us to go with him.*

Q. And you went and left him at Mr. Richard Walker's?

A. Yes.

Q. What time in the evening was this?

A. About nine o'clock, as near as I can guess; it might be half an hour before, or half an hour after.

Q. Did you observe, during the conversation you have been relating, whether Dunn appeared to be cool or was agitated?

A. He seemed very much to want to go.

Q. Did he appear to be much moved?

A. He seemed to be very much affected for doing what he had done—he seemed to relent.

Q. Was

Q. Was you in company, or did you see Dunn upon the 28th of March?

A. No, I saw him on the 20th.

Q. At what time of day?

A. About five o'clock.

Q. What passed then?

A. He was in at John Twiss's again, Twiss sent for me in, Dunn said he had seen Mr. Kinnaston, and he had challeged him with being acquainted with John Twiss, which he said he denied.

Q. Did you see whether he had cried; or observe any thing of that sort?

A. Yes, I saw tears in his eyes several times.

John Spink.

Cross-examined by Mr. *Wood.*

Q. You don't know how long he had been at Twiss's, when you found him there on the 18th of March?

A. No.

Q. Nor how much liquor he had drunk?

A. No, I do not.

A. Do you know whether he had drank any?

A. He had had a little, but he was quite sensible; he knew what he was saying and doing.

Q. Just as much as he knows now?

A. *He was not half so much in liquor then as he is now.*

Q. How came Twiss to have him in his care?

A. I suppose Dunn came to seek Twiss.

Q. What connection has Twiss with Mr. Walker?

A. I do not know that he has any.

Q. Is not he a workman of Mr. Walker's?

A. I dare say he is.

Q. How long had he been after this man to get hold of him?

A. I cannot tell any thing about it.

Q. When you saw him again, he was with Mr. Walker's clerk?

A. On the 19th Dunn said Kinnaston had challenged him with being with Mr. Walker's clerk.

Q. Was he with Mr. Walker's clerk then?

A. He was; but I was not there till late in the evening.

Q. Was he drunk then?

A. No, as sober as I am now.

Q. Was it late?

A. It was about nine o'clock.

Q. He did not appear to have drank any thing?

A. He

A. He might have had some drink, but he was perfectly sober.

John Twiss (sworn).

Examined by Mr. *Chambre.*

Q. You live at Manchester, don't you?

A. Yes.

Q. Are you one of the special constables of Manchester?

A. Yes.

Q. There have been several appointed within the town, two hundred, or thereabouts, I believe?

A. I do not know just the number.

Q. Do you know Dunn the witness, that has been examined?

A. I know this man Thomas Dunn.

Q. Were you with him on the 18th of March?

A. I was.

Q. How happened you to come together on that day?

A. Thomas Dunn called at my house; I was lying on the bed; I was sick; he came, and said he had a shilling to spend.

Q. You did not take him into custody?

A. No.

Q. It is not usual, is it, for people to come to a special constable for the purpose of being taken into custody?

A. I went along with him to Welch's; he began reflecting upon his bad conduct—that he had used Mr. Walker very ill.

A. Did he begin of his own accord?

A. Yes, he did; he repeatedly said, he had used Mr. Walker very ill, that he was sorry for it, and would ask Mr. Walker pardon. I said, if thou hast used him ill, thou had better ask his pardon in the public news-paper.

Q. Did he express any desire to see Mr. Walker?

A. Yes, he did, and he would see him, and he wanted me to go to Barlow-Hall with him, and he would pay my expences.

Q. How far is Barlow-Hall from Manchester?

A. I do not know—I was never there.—I said it was rather too late; if he would content himself, I would go with him in the morning.

Q. Was Spink with you at that time?

A. Spink was in my house, we came from Welch's; Spink came into my house, he desired Spink likewise to go along with him.

Q. Did you ever give him any money, or make him any promises, to induce him to say any thing upon the subject?

 A. Never

A. Never a farthing in my days but otherwise—I told him I would not, I never gave him a halfpenny in my life; I lent him thirteen shillings at different times—part of the money before I knew any thing about Mr. Walker's affair, that was on the 20th of October last, on a Sunday night; I lent it to him and Sidebottom, and they went and spent it; it was of a Sunday night.

Q. After that time, did you ever lend him any thing?

A. I lent him nine shillings since.

Q. When was the last time you lent him any money?

A. The last time was the 21st of March.

Q. How long before the 18th of March, had you lent him money?

A. I had never lent him a halfpenny, but four shillings.

Q. Had you lent him any thing between the 20th of October, and the 18th of March?

A. Not a halfpenny, nor never promised him any thing.

Q. You did not go with him to Barlow that night?

A. No—Dunn proposed to Esther Ottey, to go and see if Mr. Walker was at home—I was not taking every notice in the world. I think she said, I saw Mr. Walker in the town to-day, had not somebody better go and see if he is in Manchester; he desired her to go, she went, when she came back the information to the best of my knowledge was, she said Mr. Walker is gone out to supper, and it will be late before he returns. Upon this Dunn was determined he would see him he said before he slept; he sent her a second time, to go to Mr. Richard Walker, and John Spink and she went to the best of my knowledge; they returned back, and told him Mr. Richard Walker was at home, and Spink and me might bring him up; we went and brought him up, and left him at the door.

Q. Was all this done entirely upon his own solicitation, and at his own request?

A. Upon my oath it was at his own request, not one word of interrogation.

Q. Had you ever any sort of conversation with Mr. Thomas Walker?

A. I never spoke to Mr. Thomas Walker since he was born, but at one time; there was a fire at a new building at the bottom of Bridge-street. I did not see a constable, or any one assisting but myself. The gentlemen were beating up for the marine corps. Mr. Thomas Walker and Mr. Richard Walker came up, and a brutish kind of a man knock'd another man down in the sludge. Mr. Thomas Walker said to me, "do you know that man?" "I do not, "sir." That is every word I ever changed with Mr. Thomas Walker in my life.

Mr.

Mr. *Erskine (to Dunn).* What Do you say to this now?
Thomas Dunn. I say it is false, every word of it.

John Twiss.

Cross-examined by Mr. *Topping.*

Q. You are, I believe, a fustian-cutter of Mr. Walker's?
A. By business, I am.
Q. How long have you worked for Mr. Walker?
A. I worked for Mr. Walker—that is, I work for Esther Ottey, and she has had work from that house for about six years.
Q. You was saying something about the ninth of January?
A. I have not told you aught about it yet.
Q. Was you with Dunn upon the ninth of January?
A. I was.
Q. Where?
A. At the White Bear, opposite the Infirmary; from thence we took a walk to Pendleton Pole.
Q. You was with him upon the ninth of January?
A. Yes, and the eighth likewise.
Q. Had you been drinking with him at both these public-houses?
A. On the eighth I drank share of a pint of porter, and left him.
Q. How came you to be seeking his company, upon the eighth and ninth?
A. He fell into my company on the eighth; I had been at Liverpool, and delivered a message from Luke Foster, and that was the reason I saw him.
Q. Upon the 20th of October, or thereabouts, you had lent this man some money?
A. Four shillings.
Q. Had you any manner of knowledge of Dunn?
A. Seeing him last assizes here.
Q. And yet, upon the 20th of October, you lent him money?
A. Yes, I did; I have lent many a four shillings to different people.
Q. Having no knowledge of him, but what you had at the last assizes here, you lent him four shillings upon the 20th of October?
A. Peter Sidebottom was in company with me.
Q. You say you was at Liverpool; did not Dunn go from Manchester to Liverpool with you?
A. Not with me.
Q. You went after him?
A. No.

A. No.

Q. Will you swear, you never went to Liverpool after Dunn?

A. At what time?

Q. Will you swear you never went to Liverpool after Dunn?

A. I have been there after him, within these eight days —*with a subpœna in my pocket to subpœna him.*

Q. You was with him drinking upon the 8th and 9th of January?

A. Yes.

Q. Upon the 18th of March you was again with him at Welch's?

A. Yes; I told you he called upon me, and I went off the bed with him.

Q. Who was in company with you at Welch's?

A. John Spink, and me, and one James Stott.

Q. When you was with Dunn at this public house, do you remember Mr. Walker's clerk, Moses Eadon, coming?

A. I do, but not upon the 18th.

Q. Was that upon the 19th?

A. Yes.

Q. And the 20th too, I believe, you were drinking together?

A. I never saw him before the close of the evening of the 20th, when he came to our house.

Q. Was Moses Eadon, Mr. Walker's clerk, with you upon the 18th, or not till the 19th?

A. Upon the 19th.

Q. Upon Eadon's coming in, did not Eadon go into another room, and did not you tip Dunn upon the shoulder, and desire he would go with you into another room?

A. I did.

Q. How much liquor had you together at this public house upon the 19th?

A. At this time we had had very little.

Q. How much money was spent, before you parted?

A. I cannot possibly tell.

Q. Don't you know, that fourteen or fifteen shillings was spent by Mr. Walker's clerk, at this meeting upon the 19th?

Q. Mr. Walker's clerk never paid a penny to my knowledge—I paid most of it.

Q. You treated Dunn, did you?

A. I paid the shot, and treated him.

Q. How much did you pay?

A. I cannot tell to a shilling or two.

Q. Was it twenty shillings?

A. No.

A. No.

Q. Was it fifteen shillings?

A. I cannot say.

Q. Was it above half a guinea?

A. It was.

Q. Was it not fifteen shillings?

A. It might be for what I know, I cannot tell.

Q. Did not you tell Dunn, you wished he would get out of the way, till the assizes were over?

A. Never, no such matter.

Q. You swear, that at no time you ever told Dunn, you wished he would get out of the way, till the assizes were over?

A. Never in my days—I wished otherwise.

Q. Do you mean to swear upon your oath, that you did not advise him to remain at Preston?

A. I did not; he said, he would go to Preston, for he said, he would not be subpœna'd by any party; of all things, I said, you will stand forth at the trial; he said, I will, but I will not be subpœna'd by any party.

Q. Upon the 19th of March he told you he would not be subpœna'd by any body?

A. That was on the 20th, and he said the same on the 21st in the morning.

Q. When did you lend him this other money?

A. I lent him one part on Wednesday night, somewhere about the 19th, and he had the remaining part some on Thursday, and the remaining part on the Friday morning.

Q. How much has he had in the whole from you?

A. Thirteen shillings, from the first to the last.

Q. And all this, after this meeting at Welch's, the Hare and Hounds?

A. No, he had only nine shillings then.

Q. Have you never received from any person whatever, either the money that you spent at the Hare and Hounds, or the money you lent Dunn?

A. I have not upon my oath.

Q. Nor no promise?

A. Nor no promise of any thing. Dunn promised he would pay me my money back again.

Q. You never had, from any other person living, a promise of re-payment of the money lent?

A. No, never.

Q. Have you never received any money back that you spent?

A. No, never, from man, woman, nor child.

Q. Mr. *Erskine (to Mr. Duckworth).* When you heard that it was reported, that this Dunn had run away, and

was

was not coming to the assizes, did you take any step in consequence?

A. I had heard he was gone to Preston, and would stay there till the assizes. We were much afraid he would run off. I went to Preston to desire Mr. Cross, the *prothonotary*, would devise some means of keeping him in his custody by a bailiff, or in some other manner. Mr. Cross would not do that, but advised me to subpœna Dunn; we sued out a subpœna, and endeavoured to serve him with it. Mr. Twiss was sent to Liverpool, to endeavour to subpœna him there. He could not be found. It had been reported that we had bribed Dunn to keep out of the way.

Mr. Justice *Heath.* I cannot think there is much in the thirteen shillings, *for if Dunn was so corrupt that thirteen shillings would influence his testimony, his credit is not worth much.*

Mr. *Jones* (sworn).

Examined by Mr. *Lloyd.*

Q. Was you at Mr. Walker's on the 18th of March?

A I was.

Q. Was Dunn, the man who stands behind you, there?

A. Yes, he was, he came soon after I got there.

Q. Did you hear him say, he had sworn true or false, against Mr. Walker? what did he say about Mr. Walker?

A. When he first came into the room, he seemed as if he was rather intoxicated. I thought he reeled across, from the door towards the window; he sat himself down, and in a little time a question was proposed, I think by myself; Whether he had not something to say to Mr. Walker? he said, he had wronged Mr. Walker. I asked him in what manner he had wronged Mr. Walker? *he said, he had accused him falsely.* Immediately as he said that, *he fell down upon his knees, and begged his pardon.* Mr. Walker desired him to get up. Several other questions were put to him, in what manner he had falsely sworn against Mr. Walker, he did not give any answer to them.

Q. Was he brought into the room by force, or did he appear of his own free-will?

A. I understood he came of his own free-will; he knocked at the door, and was introduced into the room; *he said,* HE HAD BEEN BRIBED TO DO WHAT HE HAD DONE.

Q. Did he seem affected—was he in tears?

A. He seemed very much agitated when he entered the room. I asked Dunn, *who had bribed him,* he would not give me an answer to that question.

Mr.

Mr. *Jones.*

Cross-examined by Mr. *Law.*

Q. Was Mr. Twiss, the constable, there?

A. He was not there. The persons present in the room, when I was there, were Mr. Walker, Mr. Richard Walker, Mr. Ridgway the attorney, myself, and Dunn.

Q. I only wanted to know whether Twiss was there; you need not mention who were there, for the purpose of confirming what you say. Did he seem to you, so far recollected at the time he talked with you, as to be aware of the import of what he was saying?

A. Yes, I thought he was, perfectly.

Q. Did he specify any particulars, in which he had accused Mr. Walker falsely?

A. He did not; I asked him that question; he did not give an answer to it; he seemed very desirous of communicating what he had to say to Mr. Walker *alone;* he seemed very loth to say any thing to any questions put to him, while Mr. Ridgway and I were there; he frequently desired that Mr. Walker and he might confer together; Mr. Walker did not choose to trust himself with him alone.

Q. You have no sort of doubt in your recollection, that Dunn used those words that he had accused Mr. Walker falsely?

A. He did.

Q. Was there any conversation, respecting the indictment that was depending at Lancaster at that time?

A. I did not hear any thing said about an indictment. There was a question put to Dunn, either by Mr. Walker or Mr. Ridgway, I believe, by Mr. Ridgway, whether he had ever heard Mr. Walker damn the King? *he said, he never had,* he had heard him speak disrespectfully of him. I asked him in what manner he had spoken disrespectfully of him? but to that question he gave no answer.

Q. Was there any mention made at that time, of any assemblies held at the house of Mr. Walker, for the purpose of exercising with arms?

A. Not a syllable.

Q. Was any thing said of Mr. Yorke being at Mr. Walker's? be so good as tell me all that passed at that meeting?

A. There was a question asked about Mr. Yorke; it was asked by Dunn himself—instead of directly answering Mr. Walker's questions, he seemed to evade them by putting the question whether Mr. Yorke had been in town or no? or whether he had seen him within a few days? Mr. Walker did not give him any answer to that question.

Q. Nothing

Q. Nothing was said then about Yorke's having been at the meeting at Mr. Walker's house?

A. No.

Q. How long might Dunn be with you in the whole?

A. I fancy he was about twenty minutes, or half an hour in the room—the questions I have mentioned, were frequently put to him,

Q. Did you take any thing down in writing of what passed?

A. I did that night when I got home.

Q. Have you a minute of it?

A. I have.

Q. Be so good as to let me look at that minute; it is not from any doubt of your giving me the best of your recollection, I wish to see it for another purpose.

(Mr. Jones gave Mr. Law his minutes.)

You mention here, I see, that you went with Mr. Richard Walker, Dunn was soon introduced—by whom was he introduced?

A. I think Mr. Richard Walker shewed him into the room, if I recollect right; somebody knocked at the door very soon after we got there; I understood it was Dunn; he came immediately into the room.

Q. Who introduced him.

A. I think Mr. Richard Walker opened the door when Dunn came into the room. I was doubtful towards the end of the business, whether he was drunk, *or only feigned to be so;* for towards the latter end of it he appeared more steady, and seemed *perfectly collected* in every thing he said; he was particularly urgent with Mr. Walker to be *alone* with him. Finding that could not be obtained, he wished to be with the two Walkers; that was refused; then he desired he might be with Mr. Richard Walker *alone*, which was also refused, and Mr. Walker peremptorily told him he would not suffer himself to be in his company *alone*. The man seemed very much vexed at it and he came out with a threat upon the occasion; he said Mr. Walker would repent of it, *for it would be a damn'd deal worse for him, let him bring as many witnesses as he would.*

Mr. *Erskine.* Mr. Thomas Dunn, is this true or false?

A. False.

Q. This gentleman is perjured then—it is all false?

A. Yes.

Mr. *Law.* I know the character of several of the gentlemen who have been examined, particularly Mr. Jones; I cannot expect one witness alone, unconfirmed, to stand against the testimony of these witnesses; I ought not to expect it,

Mr.

Mr. Justice *Heath.* You act very properly, Mr. Law.

The Jury immediately gave their verdict NOT GUILTY.

Mr. *Vaughan.* I pray that Dunn may be committed.

Mr. *Erskine.* We will undertake to prosecute him for PERJURY.

Mr. Justice *Heath.* Let him be committed; and I hope, Mr. Walker, that this will be an admonition to you, to keep better company in future.

Mr. *Walker.* I have been in no bad company, my Lord, except in that of the wretch who stands behind me; nor is there a word or an action of my life, in which the public are at all interested, that I wish unsaid, or undone, or that under similar circumstances I would not repeat.

Mr. Justice *Heath.* You have been HONOURABLY ACQUITTED, Sir, and the witness against you is committed for PERJURY.

Immediately after the above verdict was given, the same jury was again impannelled, and sworn to try Mr. WALKER upon the *separate* indictment, charging him with *damning the King, and saying, he would as soon take his head off, as tear a bit of paper.*

Thomas Dunn, the only evidence for the CROWN on this indictment, having been committed for PERJURY, the Jury instantly returned their verdict, NOT GUILTY.

Mr. Walker had the most incontrovertible evidence to prove, *he was in London at the time Dunn swore that the words laid in this indictment, were spoken by Mr. Walker in Manchester.*

The jury were again impannelled and sworn to try JAMES CHEETHAM, upon the *separate* indictment against him, *for damning the King, and wishing he was guillotined,* but the witness for the CROWN, Mr. Dunn, having been committed for perjury, the jury IMMEDIATELY found the defendant NOT GUILTY.

Upon Saturday, the 5th of April 1794, a Bill of Indictment was preferred against THOMAS DUNN, for PERJURY; and found by the Grand Jury, of which the following is a List.

THOMAS BUTTERWORTH BAYLEY, Esq. of *Hope*, Foreman.
NICHOLAS ASHTON, Esq. of *Woolton*,
WILLIAM ASSHETON, Esq. of *Cuerdale-Lodge*.
EDWARD BUCKLEY, Esq. of *Lancaster*.
DANIEL BAYLEY, Esq. of *Hope*.
JOSEPH BROOKES, Esq. of *Everton*.
CHARLES GIBSON, Esq. of *Lancaster*.
GEOFFREY HORNBY, Sen. Esq. of *Preston*.
JOHN FOWDEN HINDLE, Esq. of *Blackburn*.
HENRY HULTON, Esq. of *Preston*.
ROBERT HESKETH, Esq. of *Lancaster*.
JOHN MACHELL, Esq. of *Pennybridge*.
THOMAS JOHN PARKE, Esq. of *Highfield*.
EDMUND RIGBY, Esq. of *Grange*.
ABRAHAM RAWLINSON, Esq. of *Ellel-Hall*.
WILLIAM RAWLINSON, Esq. of *Ancoats*.
NICHOLAS STARKIE, Esq. of *Frenchwood*.
ROBINSON SHUTTLEWORTH, Esq. of *Preston*.
HENRY SUDELL, Esq. of *Blackburn*.
JOHN WALMESLEY, Esq. of *Preston*.
JAMES WHALLEY, Esq. of *Clark-Hill*.
JOSEPH JAMES VERNON, Esq. of *Preston*.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

Copy of Mr. Walker's first Letter to Mr. Secretary Dundas.

Bate's Hotel, 17 June, 1793.

Sir,

I have been for some time absent from home, on account of business which has required my presence in London. I find by my letters of last Saturday, (the contents of which are still more strongly confirmed by those of to-day) that a report has been *industriously circulated* in Manchester of a charge of HIGH TREASON, made against me, before the magistrates of that town.

I am extremely sorry to occupy your time with the frivolous rumours that idle and ignorant, or bigotted and malevolent people may amuse themselves with propagating at the expence of my character. But the report above mentioned is in itself so serious, and has been the topic of so much conversation at Manchester, that I think it right, in justice to myself, and to obviate *any false construction* which my enemies may put upon my absence from home, to inform you, Sir, that my residence is as abovementioned, and that I shall be not merely *ready and willing*, but *desirous* to meet any charge that may be made against me from whatever quarter it may proceed. I shall be upon change at the usual time almost every day this week, and I shall be this evening in the lobby of the House of Commons, or in the gallery there.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
your most obedient servant,

(signed) *THOMAS WALKER.*

The Right Honble. Henry Dundas,
Principal Secretary of State for
the Home Department, &c. &c.

No.

No. II.

Copy of Mr. Walker's second Letter to Mr. Secretary Dundas.

Bate's Hotel, 22d June, 1793.

Sir,

In consequence of *repeated* advice from Manchester of warrants *for* HIGH TREASON having been issued against me, I thought it right to inform you by letter on Monday last, that I resided during my stay in town, at *Bate's Hotel*, and that I should be at the House of Commons on that evening, and on change at the usual hours almost every day of the week. I have kept my promise.

I confess I am somewhat surprized, under all the circumstances of my situation, that I have not been favored with an answer to that letter, but had the business rested there, I should probably have troubled you no further.

By a letter, however, from my attorney in Manchester, sent yesterday under cover to a friend of mine, I learn officially that a warrant upon a charge of HIGH TREASON has certainly been issued against me at Manchester, and I have every reason to suppose (if my information be true) that the *intent* of the charge in the first instance, and the subsequent delay in proceeding upon it, is not to punish me for a political offence, of which I know I am not guilty, *but to injure my general character and reputation;* indirectly indeed, but irrevocably.

The character and credit of a commercial man, Sir, is too delicate to be trifled with. Hitherto mine has been unsullied; and I trust it will remain so by any conduct of my own. But the principle of harassing a British merchant *by vague reports, industriously circulated, of crimes he has never committed; by charges unfounded, and threats unexecuted*, is so base, so detestably malignant, that I hope, for the honour of the national character, it is confined to my enemies at Manchester.

It is highly improbable that any charge of so criminal a nature, can have been made against me, without its being known at the office of his Majesty's secretary of state. I do, therefore, earnestly entreat, that I may be kept no longer in suspense; that I may be treated forthwith according to law, if there be any legal accusation against me, or if there be none, that I may be informed of it without delay. I think I have a right, after what has passed, to require as

an act of common justice, that my mind may be set at ease, and that I may be enabled to attend to my commercial concerns, without the perpetual anxiety attendant upon reports and suspicions most injurious and unfounded.

Mr. Wharton will do me the favour to deliver this, and wait for an answer *.

In the mean time I am,
Sir,
your obedient servant,

(signed) *THOMAS WALKER.*

The Right Honble. Henry Dundas,
his Majesty's Principal Secretary
of State for the Home Department, &c. &c.

No. III.

Copy of a Letter from Mr. Walker to Mr. Wharton.

Bate's Hotel, London, 16th July 1793.

Dear Sir,

I have no doubt you will be much surprized, when I inform you, that I am still without any answer to the letter you did me the honour to take to Mr. Dundas (as secretary of state for the home department) upon the 22d ult. and several of my friends, being not less surprized than myself at the silence of Mr. Dundas, are anxious to know what passed between you and him upon the delivery of my letter. I shall, therefore, consider myself particularly obliged, if you will favour me, as nearly as you can recollect, with the substance of the conversation which took place on that occasion.

With much respect and esteem believe me,
Dear Sir,
very sincerely your's,

(signed) *THOMAS WALKER.*

John Wharton, Esq. M. P. Skelton
Castle, near Guisborough, Yorkshire.

No.

* While Mr. Wharton went in to Mr. Dundas, Mr. Walker, and Mr. Cooper as his friend, waited near the door of the Board of Controul, till Mr. Wharton came out.

No. IV.

Copy of Mr. Wharton's Answer to Mr. Walker.

Dear Sir,

I am much surprized to find that you have not yet heard from the secretary of state's office in reply to the letter I delivered from you to Mr. Dundas, on the 22d ult. The conversation that passed between us on that occasion, you desire that I should repeat to you; it is impossible for me to undertake to do it verbatim; but the substance was, that I presented the letter at your request, in consequence of your not having received any reply to one of a similar purport, that you had written to him on the preceding Monday; and that being kept in a state of suspense on a subject of so serious a nature, was highly injurious to you as an Englishman and a merchant.—Mr. Dundas read the letter, and said that it was impossible for him to make any other reply to it than this, that he had received serious and criminal charges against you; that he had consequently taken such steps as his official duty required, to have those charges investigated, and that I might assure you, that no official delay should arise, and that when any determination was taken respecting them, you should be apprized of it. I said you wished for nothing more than a speedy determination on the steps to be taken, and that you did not wish to escape the justice of your country, if you had offended it; and I added, that you had accompanied me to his office, and that I was ready to deliver up the culprit, if he considered you as such, immediately; but I apprehended that upon a full investigation of the charges against you, it would appear that personal enmity to you, and jealousy of your commercial connections, had instigated persons who had failed in their attempts to injure you commercially, to make this attempt to take away your life; Mr. Dundas said it was very possible that there might be low and personal motives for the prosecution, and that he (from every thing he had heretofore heard or known of you) had too good an opinion of your understanding, to suppose you would subject yourself to the penalties of high treason. I then thanked him for his candour and politeness, and took my leave.

I shall

I shall be very happy to hear from you, if any thing further is done in this business, and remain,

Dear Sir,

with great regard, your's, very sincerely,

(signed) *JOHN WHARTON.*

Skelton Castle, July 21, 1793.

Thomas Walker, Esq. Bate's Hotel,
Adelphi, London.

No. V.

Copy of a third Letter from Mr. Walker, to Mr. Secretary Dundas.

Bate's Hotel, 29th July 1793.

Sir,

From Mr. Wharton's account of the conversation that passed between you and him, on his delivering to you my letter of the 22d ult. I was induced to expect an early intimation of the intended proceedings against me, or of their having been relinquished. I should be much surprized that no decision had yet taken place on this business, if I were not conscious that the more strictly the accusations were investigated, the more futile they would appear.

My business in London will occupy me till Sunday next, when I shall set out for Lancashire, unless some notice from the office of his Majesty's secretaries of state should detain me longer in town.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

your most obedient servant,

(signed) *THOMAS WALKER.*

The Right Honble. Henry Dundas,
his Majesty's Principal Secretary
of State for the Home Department, &c. &c.

Mr.

Mr. Walker not having received an answer from Mr. Dundas to any of his three letters, and judging that Mr. Dundas's testimony might be essential, directed him to be subpœnaed to appear as a witness on this trial at Lancaster. The following are copies of two subpœnas with which Mr. Dundas was served, together with the copies of two letters, the one from Messrs. Ward, Dennetts and Greaves, agents to Messrs. Duckworth and Dennett, and the other from Mr. White, solicitor to the treasury, to Messrs. Ward, Dennetts and Greaves, upon this subject.

No. VI.

Copy of the first Subpœna with which Mr. Dundas was served.

George the third, by the grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, &c. To the Right Honourable Henry Dundas, our Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department, greeting, we command you, that laying aside all other business, excuses, and delays whatsoever, you be and personally appear before our justices at Lancaster, the first day of the next general session of assizes of oyer and terminer, and general gaol delivery there to be holden, to testify and speak the truth between us and Thomas Walker, George Mc Cullum, John Smith, William Paul, Samuel Jackson, James Cheetham, Oliver Pearson, Benjamin Booth, Henry Yorke, and Joseph Collier, on the part and behalf of the said Thomas, George, John, William, Samuel, James, Oliver, Benjamin, Henry, and Joseph, upon all such matters and things where upon you shall be examined; and that you bring with you and produce upon the said trial, three several letters, purporting to be written by the said Thomas Walker to you, one of which is dated in the words and figures following, "Bate's Hotel, 17th "June 1793," and is signed and subscribed with the name "Thomas Walker," and is directed to you by the description of the Right Honble. Henry Dundas, Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department, &c. another of which said letters is dated in the words and figures following, "Bate's Hotel, 22d June 1793," and is signed and subscribed with the name "Thomas Walker," and is directed to you by the description of "The Right Honble. Henry Dundas, "his Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Home "Department, &c. &c." and the other of which said letters is

is dated in the words and figures following, "Bate's Hotel, "29 July 1793," and is signed and subscribed with the name "Thomas Walker," and is directed to you by the description of "The Right Honble. Henry Dundas, his Majesty's "Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department, &c. &c. And this you are not to omit, under the penalty of one hundred pounds. Witness, Sir Archibald Macdonald, Knight, at Lancaster, the fifteenth day of August, in the thirty-third year of our reign.

BATT.

(Endorsed.)

March 24th 1794. Served this subpœna on Mr. Dundas, at his house at Wimbledon, and at the same time offered him thirty guineas, which he refused.

(signed) *J. DENNETT.*

No. VII.

Copy of the second Subpœna with which Mr. Dundas was served.

George the third, by the grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, &c. To the Right Honble. Henry Dundas, our Principal Secretary of State of the Home Department, greeting, we command you, that laying aside all other business, excuses, and delays whatsoever, you be and personally appear before our Justices at Lancaster, the first day of the next general session of assizes of oyer and terminer, and general gaol delivery there to be holden, to testify and speak the truth between us and Thomas Walker, George Mc Cullum, John Smith, William Paul, Samuel Jackson, James Cheetham, Oliver Pearson, Benjamin Booth, Henry York, and Joseph Collier, on the part and behalf of the said Thomas, George, John, William, Samuel, James, Oliver, Benjamin, Henry, and Joseph, upon all such matters and things whereupon you shall be examined; *And also that you bring with you and produce upon the trial of this traverse, all informations and examinations, and copies of informations and examinations, taken on oath or otherwise, of Thomas Dunn, or any other person or persons against the said defendants, or any of them, either for high treason, conspiracy, or any other crime or misdemeanor, transmitted and delivered to you, either as the Secretary*

of state, or otherwise, and all warrants, or copies of warrants issued thereon, and all other proceedings had and taken thereon."—And this you are not omit under the penalty of one hundred pounds. Witness, Sir Archibald Macdonald, Knight, at Lancaster, the fifteenth day of August, in the thirty-third year of our reign.

BATT.

(Endorsed.)

March 25 1794.

Served this subpœna, by delivering copy to Mr. Nepean, who undertook to accept it as if served on Mr. Dundas.

(signed) *J. DENNETT.*

No. VIII.

Copy of Messrs. Ward, Dennetts and Greaves's Letter to Messrs. Duckworth and Dennett.

The King against Walker and others.

Gentlemen,

We could not get to see Mr. Dundas to serve the last subpœna upon him, but Mr. Nepean received it, and he undertook to accept it as good Service, since which we have received the inclosed letter from the Solicitor to the Treasury, which admits the service of both subpœnas.

We are,
Dear Sirs,
Your's, sincerely,

(signed) *WARD, DENNETTS & GREAVES,*
Covent Garden, March 27, 1794.

We return you the subpœna.

Messrs. Duckworth and Dennett,
Manchester.

No.

No. IX.

Copy of Mr. White's Letter to Messrs. Ward, Dennetts and Greaves.

The King against Paul and others.

Sirs,

The subpœna which you served on Mr. Dundas, requiring him to produce three letters, sent by Mr. Walker, one of the defendants, to Mr. Dundas, as Secretary of State, hath been sent to me, together with Mr. Walker's letters.

I beg leave to acquaint you, that these letters shall be produced on the Trial, if called for, and I will instruct his Majesty's Counsel to admit that they were received by Mr. Dundas, in his capacity of Secretary of State, and that both subpœnas have been served.

I am,
Sirs,
your most humble servant,

(signed) *JOSH. WHITE.*

No, 6, Lincoln's Inn,
27 March, 1794.

Messrs. Ward, Dennetts and Greaves,
Solicitors, Covent Garden.

No. X.

Particulars of several Applications made by Mr. Richard Walker, respecting his Brother, Mr. Thomas Walker, to the Rev. John Griffith, one of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace.

On Thursday July 18th 1793, I went to the Rev. John Griffith's house a little before ten in the morning, accompanied by Mr. William Seddon, but finding Mr. Griffith was gone to church, we waited in the church-yard till he came out, when Mr. Seddon told him we wanted to speak to him, on which Mr. Griffith took us into a public house in the church-yard, where Mr. Seddon informed him that

as

as we understood he had granted a warrant against Mr. Walker, we came to let him know that Mr. Walker was in London, and where he was to be met with; that he (Mr. Griffith) might get the same served upon him there. Mr. Griffith replied, *that there certainly was a warrant signed by him against Mr. Thomas Walker, for* HIGH TREASON, and when he came home, it would be put in force; that there had been a person *waiting in the* MARKET PLACE * *to apprehend him*, at a time when it was reported he was returned home, that Unite, a deputy constable, had either been at Barlow or in the neighbourhood, as it was said Mr. Walker had been there, and that he had also been seen in Manchester. I told him it was perfectly untrue; that my brother had never been out of London or the neighbourhood, since he first went up; Mr. Griffith said "I do not hesitate to declare *that as the matter now stands we cannot convict either Mr. Paul or any other person of high treason* as we have only one witness at present." I then read him the annexed paper, and gave him my brother's address on a card, in my brother's own hand writing. Mr. Griffith said, he did not see why he should act out of his own district, and that I had better give the card to Unite, who had the warrant, and might do as he pleased; I replied, I should have nothing to do with Unite, or any such people, that he (Mr. Griffith) had declared he had granted a warrant for my brother's apprehension, and therefore I left the card with him. He persisted in saying, he saw no reason for his acting; Mr. Seddon replied, he thought *if Mr. Walker had really been guilty of* HIGH TREASON, *he ought to have been taken up, or to be so immediately, wherever he was*, and prosecuted at the expence of the public. Mr. Griffith said, he did not see that; *he had sent copies of the informations to government, and could not tell why they did not act*, and why they seemed to wish to *throw the business on a country justice.* Mr. Seddon declared he thought it very strange, and a most malevolent piece of business throughout, and observed, that had a warrant been issued against any person on a charge of bastardy, he (Mr. Griffith) would have taken care to have it backed, and the person apprehended at the charge of the parish. Mr. Griffith replied, "*that would be for the security of the parish.*" Mr. Seddon said, "true, and this being on a charge of high treason, is for "the security of the kingdom, and ought to be at the ex- "pence of the publick." Mr. Griffith still said, they had only

* *The Market-place in Manchester is considered as the Exchange, where the merchants and manufacturers meet to transact their business.*

ly one witness; on which I remarked, that with all the pains which it was reported he, the Rev. Mr. Griffith, had taken, it was surprizing he could not get another witness *as good as the one they had*, but that I thought no candid or dispassionate person was at a loss to what motive to attribute the present proceedings. I also mentioned my brother's having given notice to Mr. Dundas, of his being in London.

The Rev. Mr. Griffith said, "that so far from his acting "in London, was he there, and had a sufficient acquaintance "with Mr. Thomas Walker, he should not think it unjus- "tifiable or improper to call on him at his own hotel, and "dine with him." On which Mr. Seddon said, *What!* DINE WITH A TRAITOR! and I added, *and one against whom you yourself have issued a warrant for his apprehension!* he replied, "I mean as a private gentleman;" we both repeated, *would you dine with a* TRAITOR?"

Mr. Griffith then said, it was not incumbent on him to take any steps to apprehend Mr. Thomas Walker out of his own neighbourhood, on which Mr. Seddon observed, that the warrant being for conspiring or compassing the death of the King, *as he (Mr. Griffith) had acknowledged*, and Mr. Thomas Walker being in London so near the King's person, he might more easily have an opportunity of putting his wicked intentions into execution, but that a traitor ought to be taken into custody wherever he was, as soon as possible; and I said *it shewed little regard for the safety of the King's person, to suffer those who were accused of conspiring against his life, to be at large so near him without interruption.*

The Rev. Mr. Griffith also declared, that Unite had *followed Mrs. Jackson's Funeral to have apprehended Mr. Jackson, had he followed her to the grave;* that he wished Unite not to interrupt the ceremony, as he thought it would be *rather indelicate*, but to follow Mr. Jackson, and take him up *as he returned home*, or at his own house. Mr. Griffith also said, he was persuaded that treason had been actually committed at Mr. Walker's house, but that *Mr. Walker was not present at the time.* I replied, that was not the fact, for neither my brother, nor I, had any connection with people guilty of treason. Mr. Griffith said, it had been reported he had an indemnity from government for what he had done, but that was not the case.

Mr. Seddon mentioned Mr. Paul's treatment, and Mr. Griffith's having refused a copy of the information, and the reports which had been so shamefully spread, respecting different people being apprehended here for high treason, and that the matter ought certainly to be brought to a conclusion. After repeating the general purport of the paper alluded

alluded to, and Mr. Griffith again declaring that he should give the card to Unite, who might act as he thought proper, we left him.

I again went on the 31st of July, with Mr. Birch and Mr. Sanderson, to Mr. Griffith and gave him notice in their presence that my brother would be at Lancaster at the ensuing assizes.

On the 5th of August I again informed Mr. Griffith, that my brother would be in Manchester on the Thursday, or Friday following; Mr. Griffith asked where he would be, to which I replied, that I could not tell precisely where he would be, but that he would be in Manchester; Mr. Griffith said, "WILL HE BE UPON CHANGE?" I said, "*Why should he be upon change?* he will be in "Manchester." Mr. Griffith further asked, "Will your "brother pledge himself to take his trial FOR SEDITION "at the ensuing assizes? for *I* have *two* charges against "him, one for HIGH TREASON, and another for SE-"DITION." I replied, "he will be in Manchester at the "time I mention, on Thursday or Friday next."

On Thursday my brother returned from London to Barlow, and on Friday morning he came to Manchester, of which I gave Mr. Griffith immediate notice.

RICHARD WALKER.

No. XI.

Copy of the Paper read by Mr. Richard Walker, to the Rev. John Griffith, upon the 18th of July 1793, in the Presence of Mr. William Seddon.

I understand from the information of several respectable persons, that there is a warrant out against my brother Mr. Thomas Walker, signed by you, on a criminal charge of some kind or other; my brother has received the same information: as this report is now generally current in Manchester, I think it right to acquaint you, that my brother Mr. Thomas Walker, resides at present at Bate's Hotel, in the Adelphi, London; that his business will detain him in London some time; that he wishes himself, and I wish on his account, that no uncertainty respecting the place of his abode, may delay the course of justice; and therefore if there be any warrant against him, you may have the opportunity of getting it properly backed, and served upon him

him without delay, as he will certainly remain in London a sufficient length of time to enable this to be done. He is generally upon the Royal Exchange every day at the usual hours.

If there be no charge against my brother, I think I have a right to call upon you to say so, as my commercial reputation is involved, as well as his, in the present reports against him. That you may not possibly make any mistake, I give you this card, with his address in his own hand-writing.

(Copy of the Card).

Mr. Walker,
of Manchester,
Bate's Hotel,
Adelphi,
London.

18 July, 1793,
about 11 o'clock.
A. M.

No. XII.

Copy of the Paper referred to in the Evidence of George Clark, page 61.

To the Reforming Societies in Sheffield, and other persons who concur with them in sentiment.

Allow a sincere well-wisher to the liberties of mankind, and particularly to the happiness and freedom of this country, most earnestly to exhort you, his fellow-townsmen to continue to testify, by the whole of your behaviour, that 'the 'true spirit of liberty is a spirit of order,' as your Society for Constitutional Information has well expressed it. Be this your invariable method of refuting and defeating the numerous calumnies of those who, from mistaking your views, or other motives, misrepresent your real designs. You may be assured that nothing will chagrin such as are indeed your enemies, so much as to find that you keep steadily, on all occasions, to a strict observance of the laws, and a peaceable conduct; nor would any thing gratify them more, or be so essentially injurious to the cause of that Reform which you wish to obtain, than for you to be so far misled as to commit any act of riot or tumult.

Promote with firmness, by all just, legal and peaceable means, a Reform in the Representation of the People, maintain the Freedom of the Press—that indispensable safeguard to your liberties—and assert, in the like calm and peaceable way, your right to free discussion on political subjects. But

at

at the same time do all this with propriety and discretion. Do nothing which can be conceived by others *except from wilful perversion*, to be inimical to that Constitution, one branch of which you profess it to be your design to restore to its due purity by constitutional renovation.—When events happen favourable, as you think, to just and universal liberty, avoid public rejoicings and processions, because they may prove offensive instead of conciliating to those of your fellow-citizens who do not view such occurrences in the same light that you do; because they may afford your opponents, and those who wish you ill, an opportunity to excite confusion and disorder; whereby the persons or property of your neighbours might be injured, which would be laid to your charge, though you might be quite clear of any intentional harm, and because they may, from circumstances attending such processions and rejoicings, be construed into an insult to the Government of your own country, notwithstanding you may mean nothing of the kind.

Leave all tumult and disturbance, all injury to those who differ from you either in Politics or Religion, to men of a very different description from yourselves—to men who level the property and endanger the persons of innocent and meritorious citizens, for exercising the right of private judgment, to those who oppose all Reform, to those who are zealots for acknowledged abuses. To such men as these let it be left to prove themselves the only *levellers* to be found in this country.—How contrasted is the spirit of such men, to that liberal one of moderation and social intercourse, which happily prevails among persons of all opinions in this town and neighbourhood!

As no instance of outrage and violence can be justly alledged against the friends of Reform during the late and still existing alarms, do you carefully support that honourable and peaceful character. Manifest to all that you do not entertain the levelling principles you are charged with, by a constant regard to the safety of the persons and property of all around you.—Protect, but do not destroy. Bear reproach with manly firmness, but do no injury yourselves. Convince by peaceable behaviour, by obedience to legal authority, and by that dignity of conduct which is becoming those who are influenced by the principles of genuine Liberty.

Your townsmen and neighbours, at their meeting this day, have done nothing unfriendly to Liberty or Reform, but have expressed a confidence in the peaceable disposition of the inhabitants of the town. It is your part to continue to shew that you are worthy of that confidence. They have declared their firm attachment to the Government and Constitution

stitution of their country, one grand principle of which is to amend what may be amiss, from the lapse of time or other circumstances, and their abhorrence of all riot and tumult, with a resolution to assist the civil magistrate in quelling every thing of that nature. These declarations are agreeable to the sentiments contained in some of the publications of your Society for Constitutional Information. In confirmation of which, one of the members of that Society gave his approbation to the proceedings of the meeting in a manner highly to his credit; and the general concurrence, as well as the handsome behaviour of the others who attended, ought not to pass unnoticed.

Permit me to add a few words more.—What is the object of Political Reform, but by suitable regulations to guard more effectually against oppression, to produce more general comfort and happiness, to prevent future unnecessary burdens on the subject, and gradually, as well as rationally, and with due respect to safety as well as justice, to diminish those which already exist. *To the industrious, economical, regular and orderly mechanic, such a reform would become an essential benefit, as he could then by moderate but constant labour, enjoy more comfort, maintain his family better, and be able to provide a sufficiency for sickness and old age: but to the idly disposed, the profligate and drunken workman, on the supposition of his continuing to be so, it could be of no advantage.*

May I then further urge upon you the necessity of letting personal amendment go hand in hand with Political Reform and Information. When you examine the errors of Government, do not forget to cast an eye upon your own failings. These you may correct by sincere efforts, for this is within your own power. Your endeavours to reform the other, though also laudable, may not be certain of success. However you will be much more likely to succeed in public reformation, when you have abandoned whatever is degrading to your own characters. From your general behaviour, let no one be able to point out a Reformer, or a member of one of your Societies, without at the same time he shall point to an industrious, regular man, of sober manners, and an orderly, peaceable disposition. By being meritorious servants, good masters, kind husbands, and provident fathers, you will acquire a respectability which will conquer the prejudices of those who now traduce your intentions. These are means by which you may indeed put yourselves on an *equality* with men in higher stations, and but too frequently become their superiors, in real worth and usefulness, in actual comfort and enjoyment, and by the possession of true independence. This should be your ambition, and in this may you succeed, both in self-reformation, and, united with your fellow-citizens, in that of the Representation of

the People, to the extent that will most conduce to individual, as well as to public happiness and prosperity, is the cordial wish of

(signed) *A REFORMER.*

December 31, 1792.

The sentiments contained in the above paper, were so much approved by the Manchester Constitutional, Reformation, and Patriotic Societies, that they unanimously directed two thousand copies to be printed and distributed.

No. XIII.

WILLIAM PAUL

Is a paper-stainer in Manchester. On the 14th of June 1793, he was torn from his wife and family, in consequence of a warrant signed by *the Rev. John Griffith*, charging him with HIGH TREASON, "*by compassing the death of his present Majesty*," on the *sole* oath of Thomas Dunn; Mr. Paul was that day and night confined in an apartment belonging to the New Bailey Prison; the next morning he was committed to that prison, and orders were given to treat him *as a common felon*. Upon the 17th of the same month, a commitment was made out for him to the Castle at Lancaster; but some days being allowed him to settle his books, &c. he was not sent there until the 23d, when he was taken out of his cell *at one o'clock in the morning, without any previous notice.*

Mr. Paul remained in the county gaol at Lancaster, till the ensuing assizes in August, when *no indictment for* HIGH TREASON *being preferred against him*, he was *discharged*. Many of Mr. Paul's friends were ready to have given bail; but as in cases of treason, no bail can be taken, it is hardly necessary to observe, that by these means a man may be confined from the close of one assizes to the commencement of another, on an accusation of this crime; and although it requires *two witnesses* to convict a man, *one* only is sufficient to have him committed.

Mr. Paul being indicted at the August assizes, for a conspiracy with Mr. Thomas Walker, and others, he was held to bail with the other defendants, and with them HONOURABLY ACQUITTED in April last.

During the time which Mr. Paul continued in the New Bailey Prison, neither his wife nor his children were permitted to see him, without some of the keepers being present; and he was forced to sleep in one of the cells of the felons,

felons, which having been fresh washed, there being no glass in the windows, and the window shutter much broken, gave Mr. Paul a cold, which afterwards terminated in a violent inflammation in his eyes, one of which he was in the greatest danger of losing; he was confined to his bed for three weeks, and to his room for near three months.

This defendant has a wife and four children.

No. XIV.

Copy of the Warrant by which Mr. Paul was apprehended.

Lancashire, to wit. To the constables of the township of Manchester, in the said county, and to each and every of them.

You are hereby required, in his Majesty's name, to apprehend and bring before me John Griffith, clerk, one of his Majesty's justices of the peace in and for the said county, William Paul, of Manchester, in the said county, paper-stainer, to answer to such matters as are and shall be objected against him, for having committed HIGH TREASON in the township of Manchester aforesaid, by compassing the death of his present Majesty. And also for divers contempts against our said Lord the King. Given under my hand and seal, the 13th day of June one thousand seven hundred and ninety-three.

JOHN GRIFFITH. (L. S.)

No. XV.

Copy of Mr. Paul's Commitment to Lancaster.

Lancashire, to wit. To the constables of the township of Manchester, and also to the gaoler, or keeper of his Majesty's gaol the Castle of Lancaster, in the said county.

These are in his Majesty's name to require and command you the said constables, to convey the body of William Paul, of Manchester, in the said county, paper-stainer, to his Majesty's gaol the Castle of Lancaster, and him there to deliver to the gaoler, or keeper thereof. He, the said William

William Paul, being charged before me on the oath of Thomas Dunn, with having committed HIGH TRESAON, by compassing the death of the present King, at the township of Manchester aforesaid. And you the said gaoler, or keeper of the said gaol, are hereby required to receive into your custody in the said gaol, the said William Paul, and him there safely keep until he shall be thence discharged by due course of law. Given under my hand and seal, at the township of Manchester aforesaid, the seventeenth day of June one thousand seven hundred and ninety-three.

JOHN GRIFFITH. (L. S.)

No. XVI.

SAMUEL JACKSON.

This defendant being informed that a warrant for HIGH TREASON was issued against him, as well as against Mr. Walker and Mr. Paul, remained with his family who were then in the country about five miles from Manchester, on account of the dangerous state of health of his wife, and whose death was greatly accelerated by her anxiety on this occasion. He, however, immediately on receiving the information, desired his solicitors, Messrs. Duckworth and Dennett, to give notice to the Rev. John Griffith, the magistrate who was said to have issued the warrant, and to his clerk, and also to the agents to the solicitor for the prosecution, that if the warrant was for a bailable offence, he would instantly give bail, or if not, he would appear to meet the charge at the assizes; which notice was accordingly given, and his solicitors were informed that the charge *was for* HIGH TREASON.

After the death of Mrs. Jackson (in the beginning of July,) *at whose funeral in Manchester, the deputy constable attended by order of the above magistrate, for the purpose of apprehending* Mr. Jackson, he still remained in the country, though going about publicly, visited by his friends from Manchester, and the place of his residence known to Mr. Griffith.

On the 19th of July, his solicitors gave written notices to the Rev. John Griffith, and his clerk, and also to the agents to the solicitor for the prosecution, that this defendant would attend at the following assizes, to meet any charge that might be brought against him; and on the 7th of August his brother gave another notice in writing to Mr. Griffith to inform

form him, that he (the defendant) would be in Manchester the next day, and the day following.—On the 8th of August, Mr. Jackson came to Manchester, and the next day sent a message to the magistrate, to let him know where he was; but not being apprehended, he accompanied Mr. Walker to the assizes at Lancaster on the following day; when the charge of HIGH TREASON being abandoned, and a bill for a conspiracy found by the Grand Jury, he gave bail with the other defendants, to try the same at the following assizes, and was with them HONOURABLY ACQUITTED.

To the assertion which the Attorney General for the county palatine of Lancaster was instructed to make in his opening on the trial (page 3), and which was afterwards attempted to be substantiated by Dunn, in his evidence (page 11), that the works of Paine, and many other works of a similar tendency, were read by this defendant to the societies; he has only to observe, that the whole is untrue.

No. XVII.

JAMES CHEETHAM

Is a hatter in Manchester. He was committed on the 23d day of July 1793, to the New Bailey Prison, by the Rev. John Griffith, on the oath of Thomas Dunn, for speaking contemptuous words of his present Majesty. He expected to be tried at the same time (viz. at the ensuing quarter sessions) with Benjamin Booth and Oliver Pearsall, both of whom were charged with expressions almost word for word the same, but instead of being brought to trial as he expected, for which he was fully prepared, and had incurred the necessary expences, he was, *without having any previous notice, or being permitted to send to his wife or friends*, removed at one o'clock in the morning of the 25th of July, to Lancaster Castle, where he continued till the assizes following, being imprisoned more than three weeks.

Although there was a vacant bed in the room where he lodged the night of his arrival at Lancaster, he was removed into another room the night after, where he was obliged either to sleep upon the floor, or in the same bed with the common hangman.

He was indicted at the assizes in August 1793, for *damning the King*, and also for the foregoing conspiracy, and was bailed on both charges. At the assizes in April last he was *honourably acquitted* of the latter indictment, with the

the other defendants. The former for which he had been committed, no evidence was brought in support of.

No. XVIII.

OLIVER PEARSALL

Is a native of Kidderminster, in Worcestershire, and by trade a weaver. He came to Manchester in June 1792, for the purpose of working in the manufactures there. Upon the 31st of December 1792, he became a member of the Reformation Society, by which means Thomas Dunn came to know him. In March following he left Manchester, and returned to Kidderminster.

On the 29th of June 1793, the wife of Dunn, accompanied by one Parker, who Pearsall has since learned was a constable, and Callaghan an Irishman, came to him at Kidderminster; Dunn's wife pretending it was necessary for him to give evidence at Manchester, on behalf of her husband, who she said was in the New Bailey Prison upon *a false accusation*, and would rather see him (Pearsall) than receive five hundred pounds, as his evidence would clear him. This Pearsall declared himself ready to comply with, and went with them to a public house, where he was told, he should have all his expences paid, and should return back on the Wednesday following. Previous to setting off, Pearsall wanted to go home to get some cloaths, which Parker refused, and then said, he had some tackling (meaning handcuffs) in his pocket, which he would put on him if he was saucy; Parker never shewed any warrant, and repeatedly refused to take Pearsall before a magistrate, though several times asked to do so. On his arrival at Manchester, he was carried before the Rev. John Griffith, who welcomed him to Manchester, and asked him if he did not belong to the Reformation Society, to which he answered in the affirmative. Mr. Justice Griffith then questioned him if he had not seen *arms* in Mr. Walker's house, and if he had not *exercised men* there, to both which he answered in the negative. He was then carried to the New Bailey Prison, where he was kept till the 5th of July, when he was committed, and remained there till the 9th of August.

While in this prison, Parker, Dunn, and Callaghan, had frequent interviews with him, the two latter instigating him to depose *to having seen arms, and to having exercised men* at Mr. Walker's. Callaghan in particular desired him *to come forward in the cause*, and confirm what Dunn had been putting to him, observing, *if he did not, it would be the worse for him.*

The

The day after this, one of the deputy constables came to him, and asked him, whether he recollected what Dunn had said the night before? Pearsall replied, he recollected what Dunn *had said* very well, but that it was impossible for him to recollect things which had never happened. The constable then said, *that he had frequently seen the shining of firelocks in Mr. Walker's warehouse, as he returned home late in the evening:* and further said, that a person was come from Yorkshire, and had sworn to the truth of what Dunn had said; that he was *paid twelve guineas* and had returned home with the money. Pearsall answered to this, "if he has sworn falsely, I cannot, for my soul is concerned."

In one of these conversations, Dunn said, Pearsall seemed uneasy at the interrogations; that they would leave him for the present, and begged him to consider of it. Pearsall said, he could not consider on a false subject, when Dunn replied, "we will drop the subject of exercising the men," and then began to talk about a letter from the Irish to the Scotch.

At other times, Callaghan and Dunn came to him, giving him the same advice; the former telling him, that if he did not confirm Dunn's testimony, Dunn was going to swear HIGH TREASON against him, which Dunn confirmed.

He was also informed that if he would join Dunn, *it would be as good as a pension to him as long as he lived.* At this conduct Pearsall grew angry, and desired them to leave the room; on which they said, if he would not acknowledge these things, they wished he was at home again.

On Thursday the 4th of July, Callaghan and Dunn came to him again, and brought pipes and tobacco, and a quantity of liquor. He was desired to drink, and smoke freely, to keep up his spirits, which he refused. One of them informed him, that the Rev. Justice Griffiths would come to the prison that night, and take his examination. Accordingly about seven o'clock the Rev. John Griffith came, with pen, ink, and paper. *Mr. Griffith shook hands very familiarly with Dunn, clapped him on the back, and said he was an honest fellow.* Mr. Griffith asked if their liquor was out, and seeing it was, he threw down a shilling, and ordered the turnkey to fetch some more, which was done; when it came the Rev. *Mr. Griffith drank with them*, and afterwards asked Pearsall, whether he recollected any thing relative to the questions Dunn had put to him; to which Pearsall said, that he could not, on which they all left the room.

On Friday evening the Rev. Mr. Justice Griffith, *came again to the prison*, and examined Pearsall as before, who answered that he knew nothing of the kind, the *Justice* then told him, that Dunn had sworn against him (Pearsall)

sall) for having *damned the present King* in his (Dunn's) house; and therefore, that his commitment should be made out immediately, which was done accordingly.

Before Pearsall was *committed* by Mr. Griffith, he had of the best to eat and drink, but *afterwards* he had *only the jail allowance.*

At the ensuing quarter sessions in July 1793, Pearsall gave notice of his intention to take his trial on the indictment found against him, on the charge of having *damned the King.* The same day was fixed for the trials of him and Booth. The expences of the attorney and counsel were incurred, and every thing prepared for the trial, when the defendant was informed, that by a process called a Certiorari, this indictment was removed from the sessions into the Court of King's-Bench, but was given to understand that it was not intended to be proceeded on.

The defendant, Pearsall, was notwithstanding this, detained in prison until Friday the 9th of August, when Mr. Griffith wanted him to give bail for his appearance in the King's Bench. This being resisted by his solicitor as illegal, and an application being made by him to the clerk of the peace, for a copy of the magistrates' names attending the sessions, for the purpose of making an application to the court of King's Bench, to compel the magistrates to do their duty;—the Rev. John Griffith sent to let Pearsall know that he might be liberated without bail, upon his entering into a recognizance to appear to the indictment in the King's Bench. Pearsall entered into the recognizance, and was liberated. Pursuant to his recognizance, he appeared in the King's Bench, and pleaded not guilty. The issue was made up, but although two assizes have since elapsed, the prosecutors have not thought it expedient to try him upon this indictment.

At the assizes in August 1793, Pearsall went to Lancaster as a witness, *to prove the attempts which had been made to suborn him to give false evidence against Mr. Walker.* Dunn's evidence being still unsupported, and likely to be destroyed by this witness, the prosecution against Mr. Walker for HIGH TREASON was dropped; and Pearsall was *prevented from giving evidence,* by being made a defendant in the indictment for a conspiracy. He was then bailed, and afterwards HONOURABLY ACQUITTED.

No.

No. XIX.

BENJAMIN BOOTH.

On the fifth day of June 1793, this defendant was apprehended by virtue of a warrant issued by the Rev. John Griffith, upon a charge of having distributed a paper on the subject of WAR, which paper *was alledged to be seditious*: for this charge he was bailed upon the 12th of that month, and about eleven o'clock on the *very same night*, he was again taken from his wife and children, under *another warrant*, signed by the *same reverend magistrate*, and was the next day committed by him to the New Bailey Prison, on the oath of Thomas Dunn, on a charge of having *damned the King*, and saying, *he would guillotine him if he could.*

At the door of Mr. Griffith's house, a person who had been present during Booth's examination, said to the constable who was taking him to prison, "EXPOSE HIM TO "THE FURY OF THE POPULACE." The constable led him through the most public streets in the town, and frequently addressed himself to the mob, in very inflammatory language respecting Booth.

The Rev. John Griffith refused in the most positive terms *to admit this defendant to bail* (which was offered), and he was confined in the New Bailey prison until the 19th of that month, when Mr. Griffith thought proper to receive bail *.

During the greater part of this interval Booth was kept in a separate place, he was locked up two hours sooner, and let out of his CELL two hours later than the rest of the prisoners. The *threats* and *temptations* held out to induce him to *confirm Dunn's evidence*, were various and frequent. He was told that others had done so, and that he had but a few hours to determine whether he would or not, that otherwise he would most certainly be hanged, and that it was the only way to save his wife and children from ruin. Mr. Paul (then in confinement, see the Appendix, No. XIII.) was shewn to him at one of the windows in another part of the prison. Booth was informed that Mr. Paul was committed for HIGH TREASON, that *Mr. Walker*, and others, *had fled from the accusation;* that in treason there were no accessories, all were principals; and that *if he would turn King's evidence* without delay, *and join Dunn*, Mr. Griffith *would write for his pardon.*

* The bail insisted upon and given, was Booth in 500l. and two sureties in 250l. each.

The Rev. *Mr. Griffith* told Booth, "*he wanted the great* "*men, he wanted to pick his birds.*"

At length, by promises and threats, by being told the parties accused were either apprehended, or had fled from the charges against them, and being frequently reminded of the helpless situation to which his wife and children would be exposed, a promise was wrung from him to join Dunn's evidence.

Upon Booth stating his ignorance of what evidence Dunn had given, Dunn and he were put together, that Dunn *might inform him;* and orders were given that Booth should *now* be better treated, and have a moderate allowance of liquor, *but not so as to make Dunn jealous.*

Booth being afterwards bailed, an indictment was preferred against him at the ensuing quarter sessions, on the accusation of having *damned the King*, &c. and immediately meeting the charge, *though he might have traversed to the following sessions*, he was tried and found guilty on the *sole* testimony of Dunn, although Dunn was flatly contradicted by Mary Booth, the defendant's sister, who was present when the words were *said to be spoken*, and swore positively they were made use of *by Dunn himself, and not by her brother.*

No indictment was preferred upon the first accusation, of distributing the paper, *pointing out the evils which were likely to result from the war.*

It is remarkable, that Dunn accused five or six different people of using *precisely the same expressions* respecting the King, at different times, and when not in company with each other.

The chairman of the Manchester quarter sessions in passing sentence observed, that Booth had been found guilty *to the satisfaction of the whole bench*, and the judgment of the court was twelve months imprisonment in Lancaster Castle.

Benjamin Booth, thus imprisoned, was *again indicted* for the *conspiracy* with the other defendants, at the next assizes, and with them *acquitted* on the trial. At the period of his acquittal, *more than nine months* of his imprisonment had elapsed.

Benjamin Booth being thus indicted, *both at Manchester and at Lancaster*, was effectually precluded from giving evidence of the practices made use of, *(whilst he was in prison,)* to prevail upon him, to give *false testimony* against some of the other defendants.

It is perhaps not unworthy of remark, that *the Chairman of the Manchester quarter sessions*, should afterwards be one of the Grand Jury who found the bills of indictment against the defendants in this trial; he was likewise foreman

man of the Grand Jury who found the bill of indictment against *Dunn for* PERJURY.

So well aware were the prosecutors, of the mode in which Booth's declaration, in support of Dunn's evidence, *had been extorted from him*, (which he never reflects upon but with shame and contrition, and which he acknowledges to be utterly false) that they did not produce it on this trial, nor did it prevent the Crown from granting Booth a pardon.

After Dunn (whose conduct was reprobated by the whole court) was committed for perjury by the judge of assize, *the chairman of the Manchester quarter sessions wrote* (it is said) as well as the ATTORNEY GENERAL *for the county palatine of Lancaster*, to the Secretary of State, for Benjamin Booth's pardon.

On the 2d of May last Booth was set at liberty, in consequence of a pardon, of which the following is a copy.

No. XX.

(L. S.) GEORGE R.

Whereas Benjamin Booth was at a quarter sessions of the peace held at Manchester, tried and convicted of sedition, and is now in Lancaster gaol under sentence of imprisonment for the same; and whereas *some favourable circumstances* have been humbly represented unto us in his behalf, inducing us to extend our grace and mercy unto him, and to grant him our free pardon for his said crime. Our will and pleasure therefore is, that you cause him the said Benjamin Booth to be forthwith discharged out of custody, and for so doing this shall be your warrant. Given at our court at St. James's, the twenty-fifth day of April 1794, in the thirty-fourth year of our reign.

To our trusty and well-beloved the Chairman of the Quarter Sessions of the Peace at Lancaster, the High Sheriff of the said county, and all others whom it may concern.

By his Majesty's command,

(signed) *HENRY DUNDAS.*

Benjamin Booth has a wife and four small children.

On

On the 4th of October 1793, Benjamin Booth, while in Lancaster Castle, received a letter from Mr. Cartwright, of Shrewsbury, who is a surgeon and apothecary, and a Nonjuring Bishop, of which the following is a copy. The reader will make his own reflections upon *its objects and principles.*

No. XXI.

Copy of Mr. William Cartwright's Letter to Benjamin Booth, dated Shrewsbury, 27 Sep. 1793.

When you wrote to me, soon after the death of Bishop Price, I little suspected that ever I should have seen your name in the public papers, on such an occasion as that which has rendered you so conspicuous; and reduced you to that situation, which your criminal conduct has so justly deserved.

I begin this address to you in this manner, with no other design than to express my abhorrence and detestation of those principles which excited you to this conduct, for which the laws of your country are now punishing you; and which, without sincere repentance, leaves you obnoxious to the just judgement of the Almighty, whose holy laws you have so flagrantly violated, and thereby brought a scandal on that sound branch of the catholic church, of which you were a member.

You well know, or once did know, that unfeigned allegiance, in all civil matters, to your rightful and lawful Sovereign, is an essential doctrine and duty of christianity; and that all *coercive* resistance to him and his laws, *in all cases whatsoever*, and *under the most trying circumstances, is threatned with* DAMNATION.

I am quite at a loss to conceive on what ground you can possible justify or excuse your late conduct. Sure I am that before you could adopt the maxims and principles of PAIN, and such men, you must either have made shipwrock of faith, and virtually renounced all reverence for the revealed will of God; or lulled your conscience into a very irreligious degree of torpor.

I thought I had sufficiently exposed the atheism of Pain's wicked book, in that paper of mine signed "Phileleutherus "Christianus," which was printed and dispersed in Manchester as a hand bill in May 1791.

I grant

I grant you there is much plausible reasoning in Pain's writings; *many unsavoury truths*, mixed with vile falsehoods, and gross misrepresentations: but his reasoning is entirely of that sort, with which the adversary of souls always endeavours to deceive the unwary. However, it is such as can have no influence, but upon those who have first withdrawn their minds from that dependance upon God, which is always our duty, and our best security against the temptations of Satan, the allurements of the world, and the corrupt propensities of our fallen and depraved nature. The *unsavoury truths* disseminated in his writings are such as, more or less, exist in all governments in the world, and ever will, till there shall be an entire renovation of the fallen sons of Adam. The speculations of those who call themselves Philosophers, promise us mighty fine things indeed. But the world was not created by human wisdom, neither can it be reformed by such means as those of Thomas Pain. *Reformation is a fine word; yea, and a good thing too, when properly set about:* but the experience of France should surely teach us the folly as well as wickedness of all popular attempts at it. Let every individual strive to reform himself, and leave the rest to God. While he is doing this, he is in the way of his duty: but whoever attempts to reform his superiors, and the governing powers by the arm of flesh, will only fall from one wickedness to another, and will not come into the way of righteousness.

Possibly you may deceive yourself with a notion that you were doing right, in endeavouring to overturn the present established system of government, *because some of our religious predecessors attempted, in the years* 1715 *and* 1745 *to dethrone the then reigning family*. But give me leave to tell you that those attempts, whether *right or wrong*, whether justifiable or not, were undertaken on entire different and opposite principles, to those, on which you must have engaged with the new disturbers of the public peace. The former attempts were not undertaken to overturn or alter the constitution of the government of this country. No! it was a competition between a claimant to the throne, who was thought to have been unjustly and illegally dispossessed of his right, and him who withheld that supposed right from him. That competition, you well know, is now at an end. The one family being as good as entirely extinct, and the other having been so long a time in uninterrupted possession, *surely we need not now hesitate which of these God has chosen to reign over us*. He has declared "by me kings reign." And I believe there is not *now* one person of our communion who does not recognize King George as the only rightful King of Great Britain, &c.

In

In consideration of this unquestionable truth, and of your late seditious and rebellious practices, it is my duty, however painful, to tell you *that you lie under the censure of* THE GREATER EXCOMMUNICATION. The consequences of such a state I need not explain to you, any further than to tell you that without an *exemplary repentance there can be no pardon for you either in this world or* THAT WHICH IS TO COME. *By an exemplary repentance*, I mean not only a sincere contrition, such as is described in the CXLth. lesson, page 400, of our catechism, but also the most effectual restitution and satisfaction, which it may be in your power to make to that government which you have insulted, and the laws which you have violated. And this can no other way be done, than *by disclosing to a proper magistrate, every thing which you know of seditious and rebellious plots; and endeavouring, not for the sake of revenge or malice, but for the sake of justice, and better security of the public peace, to bring all your associates in iniquity, to such punishment as the law prescribes.*

Thus have I faithfully admonished you, in love to your soul and body too, and delivered my own soul on this occasion. I pray God to give you a right understanding in these, and all things concerning your eternal welfare, and am

Your faithful but afflicted pastor and friend,

(signed) *WILLIAM CARTWRIGHT.*

I shall send this to you under the cover of a frank, directed to an old, sensible, and very worthy friend of mine; whom I have not seen for above twenty-three years last. His name is Langshaw, now organist of Lancaster. I shall request him to give you the most efficacious advice he can; I am persuaded it will be good and friendly; and I believe him to be as capable of convincing you of those delusive errors, into which you have fallen, as I am. If you have a due sense of your crimes, it will give me some consolation to receive a letter from you: otherwise not.

I believe it is not permitted to persons in your situation to send or receive letters, without the inspection of the governor, and I have no objection that he should see this, I shall send it unsealed to Mr. Langshaw.

To Mr. Benjamin Booth
Lancaster Castle.

FINIS.

ERRATA.

Page 4, line 7, for *overthow*, read *overthrow*.
7, line 38, for *emport*, read *import*.
29, line 31, for *defendant*, read *defendants*.
32, line 45, for *insiduous*, read *insidious*.
34, line 7, for *keep*, read *keeping*.
36, line 23, for *it is*, read *they are*.
39, line 9, for *two years ago*, read *more than five years ago*.
In the note at the bottom of page 40, for *No. I.* read *No. I. to XI.*
Page 42, line 32, for *his*, read *Dunn's*.
53, line 19, for *this man*, read *this man Dunn*.
55, line 43, for *A.* read *Q.*
In the note at the bottom of page 61, for *No. VIII.* read *No. XII.*
Page 69, line 36, for *twelth*, read *twelfth*.
88, line 36, for *Mr. Ridgway*, read *Mr. Ridgway, jun.*
102, line 17, for *Mr. Jones*, read *Mr. Thomas Jones*.

A

REVIEW

OF SOME OF

THE POLITICAL EVENTS

WHICH HAVE OCCURRED IN

MANCHESTER,

DURING

THE LAST FIVE YEARS:

BEING A

SEQUEL TO THE TRIAL

OF

THOMAS WALKER, AND OTHERS,

FOR A

CONSPIRACY TO OVERTHROW

THE

CONSTITUTION AND GOVERNMENT

OF

THIS COUNTRY,

AND TO

AID AND ASSIST THE FRENCH, BEING THE KING's ENEMIES.

BY THOMAS WALKER.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR J. JOHNSON, IN ST. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD.

1794.

PREFACE.

SINCE the events of the following narrative, Meſſrs. Hardy, Tooke, Bonney, Kyd, Joyce, Holcroft, Thelwall, Richter and Baxter, have been indicted and acquitted of High Treaſon. The offence laid to their charge was of the ſame nature with that imputed to Meſſrs. Jackſon, Paul, Collier, myſelf, and others; and the only difference of the two caſes, was, that in the one, a Conſpiracy was the crime alledged; in the other, it was the means, by which the ſuppoſed crime of High Treaſon was to have been effected.—Both theſe charges have fallen to the ground. The enquiry, I truſt, will produce much good upon the public mind; and, ſo far, will, compenſate the defendants for the anxiety, ill treatment, and injurious expence, which they have ſuſtained.

Whether there be in law any preciſe definition of what is called a Conſpiracy, I have not yet been able to learn; but, from the

practice obſerved on theſe trials, it is of all others a ſpecies of accuſation the moſt to be dreaded by an Engliſhman. The evidence permitted to be given, appeared to conſiſt of every thing done, written, or ſpoken, at any time, or place, or by any perſons whatever, who, by the ingenuity of the Crown lawyers, could be connected with the deſign of which the parties ſtood accuſed. For inſtance, ſuppoſe a member of a political ſociety votes againſt any particular motion, and that he is in a minority: the queſtion is, of courſe, carried againſt his opinion, as being the act of the ſociety at large; the reſult is, that ſuch member may be tried for his life upon this very act, which he has thus endeavoured to prevent.—In anſwer, I know, it may be ſaid, that a defendant has only to call the other perſons preſent, in explanation of his conduct; which is all very true and plauſible, provided he knows before-hand the time, and place, and nature, of the fact alledged. But if, as in the caſe of the gentlemen above mentioned, the evidence is to begin for years before the day of trial, their papers ſeized, and themſelves impriſoned, the chance of a defence is doubtful indeed; as witneſſes

witneſſes may be dead, or may have left the kingdom, or may have forgotten every circumſtance in queſtion, not thinking, at the time it happened, they ſhould be ever called to give an account of it; which, as every one knows, is a very common anſwer in our courts of juſtice.

The delay of juſtice is a hackneyed topic; but its uncertainty is a much more ſerious cauſe of complaint. Thus, in a criminal proſecution, it is pretended, that the accuſed, having a copy of his indictment granted him, he is made acquainted with the matter of it, and ſo enabled to prepare for his defence. The truth of this is worth ſome enquiry. Of all the incidents attending any tranſaction, time and place are the moſt eſſential, as tending to fix it with certainty. When a man is indicted, the law ſays, that both the time and place of the act he is charged with, ſhall be ſpecified; and ſo it is upon the ſcroll of parchment, of which he has a copy allowed him for his information. But, when the cauſe comes to trial, the law is ſatisfied, *if any other day is proved*, to be that, on which the offence was committed; ſo that the information given in the indictment, if erroneous, has only

one effect; viz. to miſlead the accuſed, inſtead of inſtructing him. In the like manner, if the place proved, be different from the place laid in the indictment, it is all the ſame, provided both places are within the county where the aſſizes are held. In this ſtate of things, therefore, I ſhould be glad to know, how the accuſed is enabled with certainty to prepare for his defence.

With theſe trials are involved many other important queſtions: as connected with parliamentary reform, they are, alſo, of great public concern. Henceforward, it will not, I hope, be imputed to men as a capital crime, that they endeavoured to promote this object, becauſe they thought it neceſſary to their country's liberty. This queſtion was ſaid by the Lord Chancellor, during the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, to have been entirely laid at reſt in the year 1782. But, how, and by whom? Did any committee of enquiry (which was Mr. Pitt's propoſition) prove to us, that the repreſentation of the people was not defective? Or, does the vote of a majority in the Houſe of Commons againſt *any* enquiry into the ſtate of their own body, prove to us, that that body

is

is in health? And how, otherwiſe, did the public receive any ſatisfaction on the ſubject? For this queſtion has been revived three times in parliament, ſince the year 1782. No man, however, can doubt but that it was intended to have been laid at reſt in the year 1794, when the Habeas Corpus Act was ſuſpended, and when ſo many innocent perſons were committed under that ſuſpenſion, in order to their being proſecuted for High Treaſon.—However, trial by jury was ſtill left us, and their lives were preſerved to the community. The conſequences of an oppoſite verdict to that delivered, would have been dreadful indeed: they may eaſily be conceived; the ſyſtem of terror being no novelty in the hiſtory of mankind.

Sir William Temple ſays, that, upon the firſt report of the Duke of Alva's expedition againſt the Flemings, "the trading people of "the towns and country began in vaſt num-"bers to retire out of the provinces, ſo, as "the Dutcheſs * wrote to the King, that, in a

* The Dutcheſs of Parma, who had the government of the Low Countries before the Duke of Alva, under Philip the Second.

"few

" few days, one hundred thouſand men had " left the country, and withdrawn both their " money and goods, and more were following " every day." Had Meſſrs. Hardy, Tooke, &c. been convicted, that event " would have made " up a force, which nothing in England could " look in the face with other eyes than of " aſtoniſhment, ſubmiſſion, or deſpair." * The advocates of parliamentary reform would not have waited for warrants of apprehenſion, and a trial upon conſtructive treaſon, while a ſingle veſſel could have been procured, and their families conveyed to any land of ſafety. Parliamentary reform would then, indeed, have been little heard of; and ſo far the queſtion might have been laid at reſt. Happily for thoſe, whoſe minds are imbued with public principles, the life of an Engliſh ſubject is better protected in this age, than it was a century ago.—Jurors, it is plain, are now more enlightened; and, in caſes of treaſon, the Statutes of William and of Anne are powerful protections to brave and innocent men. During the reigns of

* Obſervations upon the United Provinces of the Netherlands, p. 34.

Charles

Charles, and James the Second, it ſeemed, as if proſecution and conviction were ſynonymous. If, in the preſent times, knowledge is more widely diffuſed than formerly, ſo that individual improvement has promoted and preſerved individual ſecurity, Why may we not expect that it ſhould at length effect univerſal freedom?

Without ſome new contrivance, hitherto unforeſeen, and while the legiſlature ſhall permit us to enjoy a trial by our equals, it will not be poſſible to ſtifle opinions and principles, whether civil or religious. In proſecutions by the way of miſdemeanour, ſome ſacrifices may be made: by means of ſpecial juries, and *ex officio* informations, our priſons may ſometimes be tenanted by thoſe, who deſerve a better fate. But, to conquer the minds of men, you muſt deſtroy the men themſelves; and this will not be found practicable while the voice of truth can be heard, and the proviſions of juſtice ſhall remain in force.

For myſelf, I am willing to hope that the cauſe of reform has been for ſeveral years, and is at this moment, progreſſive; becauſe the

intereſt and honour of England as a nation, are deeply concerned in its accompliſhment. Should this be attended with ſucceſs, even in the laſt period of my life, I ſhall look with ſatisfaction on the injuries, which have been attempted againſt my perſon, my family and my property, conſidering, that the failure of thoſe attempts may have had ſome ſhare in promoting the general benefit. But were it poſſible, that, at the approach of the nineteenth century, the people of England ſhould have wholly abandoned their national character, and, conveying the poiſon of corruption to their own lips, ſhould ſit down tamely under an eſtabliſhed deſpotiſm, thoſe few who have endeavoured to prevent ſo deadly a calamity, will, at leaſt, have the conſolation, "that as "men employ the talents God has given them "here, they ſhall accordingly receive their re-"wards at the cloſe of the day, when their ſun "ſhall ſet, and when night ſhall put an end "to their labours."

December 23, 1794.

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APPENDIX,

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ERRATA.

P. 14, Note, laſt line, for *enact*, read *erect*.
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P. 23, Note, laſt line, for *univerſa*, read *univerſal*.
P. 54, l. 15, after the word *juſtice*, add, *he has lately left this country to ſettle in America*.
P. 78, Note, l. 2, dele Comma after *individuals*, and for *that*, read *to*.
Ibid. l. 18, for *the*, read *this*.
Ibid. l. 19, for *every other parent and guardian*, read *the parent and guardian of every other*.

A REVIEW

A REVIEW, &c.

IN the Preface to the Trial, which I publiſhed in the month of June laſt, I promiſed, if my health and leiſure ſhould permit, to lay before the public ſome facts, which ſhould tend to prove, that the charge of CONSPIRACY would be more applicable to the conduct of the proſecutors, than of the defendants. I proceed now to fulfil my promiſe, as well as the caution of my adverſaries, and the circumſtances of the times, will permit: and, I hope, the detail will prove not unuſeful, and therefore not unintereſting to the public.

Hiſtory was formerly written merely to relate the quarrels of Kings and Princes among themſelves, and to excite the reader to contemplate, with reverence and admiration, the characters and conduct of the great murderers of mankind. It was natural that thoſe ſhould write only for Kings and Heroes, who ſeemed to believe that the human ſpecies were created only for the ſervice and the pleaſure of Kings and Heroes. Hence a great, much the greateſt part of hiſtory, ancient and modern, is occupied in details, which convey no inſtruction but to heads of armies, and which, in the mind of a benevolent reader, excite no ſentiments but thoſe of ſorrow and execration.

Of late years, however, it has been ſuſpected, that ſociety and civil government either originally were, or ought to have been, inventions, intended to promote and render permanent the happineſs of the individuals who thus connect themſelves with each other: and that the rulers of ſtates

either were, or ought to have been, perſons appointed merely to frame and execute ſuch regulations as were beſt adapted to this purpoſe. Hence a claſs of writers has ariſen, who inveſtigate hiſtory for the purpoſe of aſcertaining, how far, and under what circumſtances, the various forms of government, and the perſons who have aſſumed the adminiſtration of them, have anſwered this ſuppoſed end of their creation: and the reſult of the inveſtigation has been, that civil government and civil ſociety, as they have been hitherto uſually conducted, have rather defeated, than promoted their original purpoſe; and the miſeries of the human ſpecies have kept pace with the vaunted progreſs of civilization. *

This general poſition being now pretty well eſtabliſhed, it has become important to aſcertain, in what part of the experiment the people have been deceived, and by what means the preſumed benefactors have become, in ſuch numerous inſtances, the plunderers and deſtroyers of mankind. How the *few* have permanently contrived to live in affluence and luxurious indulgence, while the *many* drag on an exiſtence laborious and miſerable, in ignorance and vice, in pain and poverty! It is no great wonder that any ſet of men, ſhould prefer their own intereſt and inclination to that of their neighbours, or be incited to benefit by the folly and puſillanimity of thoſe, who ſubmit to the yoke impoſed on them, and conſent to live, not for the advantage of themſelves, but of their oppreſſors. But, though a melancholy, it is a very inſtructive problem, to aſcertain, how it thus hap-

* Much light has been thrown upon this ſubject by, among other writers, Mr. Burke, in his Vindication of Natural Society: wherein, (through fear perhaps of ſhocking the ancient prejudices of his readers) he affects to treat as a paradox the ſide of the queſtion he has eſpouſed. But it is evident, that no man could pen the ſerious and weighty truths contained in that maſterly publication, without feeling the force of them. Voltaire and Rouſſeau, who were his contemporaries, have incidentally touched on the ſame ſubjects in various parts of their writings; and Paine and Barlow have trodden the ſame ground.

pens,

pens, that the great maſs, not merely of a community, but of mankind, ſhould for ages have tamely ſubmitted to this ſtate of things, and that millions ſhould ſo long have permitted themſelves to be plundered and ſlaughtered, to gratify the avarice, the ambition, the revenge, or the caprice of a few worthleſs individuals.

So far as the fair concluſions, from known facts, have hitherto been deduced, it appears, that the cauſes of national evils ariſe principally from too much authority entruſted for too long a period, to perſons not ſufficiently reſponſible to the people. If there be one important leſſon to be learnt from hiſtory, it is, that power ſhould be lodged no where without reſponſibility. Force uſually accompanies authority. Military bodies, oſtenſibly ſet on foot for the execution of the laws internally, and for external defence, have in reality enabled the rulers of nations to encreaſe gradually and indefinitely the authority originally committed to them, or ſubſequently acquieſced in. In moſt countries this authority, by mutual connivance, has been divided among two or three denominations of men, whoſe combination (notwithſtanding their occaſional quarrels) has hitherto kept the maſs of the people in brutal ignorance, and in abject dependance.

Sometimes perſons of ſuperior talents and foreſight have endeavoured to ſet bounds to the progreſs of power, and to emancipate their fellow citizens from the ſituation, in which they are uſually found: and the ſtruggles of the Friends to Liberty, on the one hand, and the abettors of ancient errors and ſacred abuſes, on the other, form the moſt inſtructive part of the hiſtory of mankind. We are now arrived at a period when the minutiæ of theſe conteſts are, in no ſmall degree, intereſting. How the friends of arbitrary power have proceeded in their endeavours to cruſh the firſt efforts, and to overpower the dawnings of Liberty—in what parts of their conduct they have ſucceeded—how far, and from what cauſes

they have failed—what errors the Friends of the People have been led into—what effects, upon the whole, their efforts have hitherto produced—and by what ſteps they are moſt likely to ſucceed in oppoſing the machinations of their enemies, the recovery of long loſt rights, the eradicating of ancient prejudices, and the eſtabliſhment of political government on the baſis of political truth—theſe are enquiries, in the preſent day, of infinitely greater moment than the murderous details of Hannibal and Cæſar, of Jenghiz Kahn, or Louis the XIVth, of Frederick the Great, of Catharine, or of any other among the earthly demons of Almighty vengeance.

There is no accurate, there is no practical knowledge but from detail. The general outline of fact and obſervation, muſt be drawn from a careful conſideration of the minute data, and the concluſions to which they lead. For this purpoſe, it is of importance, in momentous queſtions, that a ſummary of facts (however inſignificant the perſons to whom they relate) ſhould be carefully regiſtered and filled up; and though the concluſions they lead to, will not, perhaps, be obvious at firſt view, they will, ere long, be ſeen in connection; they will throw light upon each other, and their cauſes and uſes will not fail to be developed. Hence, as the French narrators of court intrigues have, for ſome years paſt, been in the habit of publiſhing not hiſtories, but memoirs, to aſſiſt the future Hiſtorian, I think the Friends of Liberty ſhould take care to publiſh ſimilar accounts of their experiments and endeavours, of their ſucceſs, and their ill ſucceſs, that there may be an ample ſupply of materials to eſtabliſh the concluſions they would wiſh to impreſs on future generations: details that may put the good man on his guard, direct his efforts, and prevent the waſte of time and trouble, and the unneceſſary ſacrifice of property and peace.

For the reaſons, therefore, which I have already given, it is greatly to be wiſhed, that we had complete accounts of the eſtabliſhment and proceedings of the various ſocieties in this

country, which have contributed in any degree to accelerate or retard the progreſs of freedom. Even if they have had no influence of this kind, it would be of importance to aſcertain their inefficacy in this reſpect. The ſocieties, which go under the name of "Reeves's Aſſociations," might on this occaſion be mentioned, as, by promoting public diſcuſſion, they unwittingly, but materially, promote the cauſe of freedom.

Aſſociations for the purpoſe of amending the preſent inadequate ſyſtem of repreſentation, have long ago been recommended by Mr. Burgh,* (an able writer, endeared to me, as the inſtructor of my youth) and commenced and ſupported with the moſt deliberate and ſyſtematic ſpirit by the Chiefs † of that

* Political Diſquiſitions, V. 3. P. 428 to 434.

† Extract from the Courier of July 12, 1794.—"After ſo much diſpute about the letters of the Secretary of the Friends of the People; after the anxiety of the Society, and the laudable eagerneſs of the Members of that Society to prove the Committee of Secrecy of the Houſe of Commons wrong, it is natural to conclude that thoſe letters contain ſomething of an inflammatory, ſeditious, or, perhaps, traitorous tendency. It has already been obſerved, that no Member of the Friends of the People has in the leaſt diſapproved of their contents; and as for the danger with which the Secret Committee may inſinuate them to be fraught, What is it?—It is only, at moſt, an admiſſion that a Convention of Delegates from the different Societies inſtituted for the purpoſe of obtaining a Parliamentary Reform, may be at ſome period a proper meaſure. Such a Convention, when connected with, and ſupported by, Correſponding Societies all over the kingdom, is, however, ſaid to be dangerous and unlawful. If it is ſo, it muſt be proper to know who firſt ſet this dangerous unlawful example. Leaving the notorious conduct of Mr. Pitt and the Duke of Richmond out of the queſtion, I will ſhew, that the very men who now condemn theſe meaſures, were the original promoters of them, and that while Mr. Pitt and the Duke of Richmond have been, by ſome unaccountable overſight, made the ſcape-goats on this ſubject, the real blame, if there is any blame belonging to it, attaches, where it ſeems to be thought leaſt merited, to Mr. Burke, Mr. Windham, the Duke of Portland, Earl Spencer, and the other Whig Alarmiſts, who now ſo zealouſly ſupport Government.

"In the year 1780, Aſſociations were formed in moſt of the counties, cities, and towns throughout England, for the purpoſe of petitioning the Houſe of Commons

that party, who are now attempting to ſtigmatize ſocieties of this deſcription by charges of ſedition, and of treaſonable practices.

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Commons to reform the expenditure of public money, and to reform Parliament. Theſe Aſſociations appointed Committees of Correſpondence, (i. e. Correſponding Societies), ſome of which conſiſted of more than one hundred members; and they alſo voted for a National Aſſociation of Deputies, (i. e. a National Convention.) In illuſtration of the ſpirit and object of theſe meetings, I ſhall quote the ſpeech of Mr. Baker at that of Middleſex, 7th January, 1780, who now votes for the ſuſpenſion of the Habeas Corpus Act, and is a bitter enemy to Conventions and Correſponding Societies. "He ſaid, that to give a validity and ſucceſs to this Petition, and that it might not be treated with inſolent neglect, it was judged neceſſary to come to ſome further Reſolutions, ſimilar to thoſe agreed to by the county of York. He ſaid, the reaſon why the former Petitions of Middleſex and other counties had failed of ſucceſs, was, that they had not followed them up, and given them ſupport, either by Aſſociations or Reſolutions of ſome ſtrong nature." He therefore moved—"for a National Aſſociation of Delegates, and a Committee of Correſpondence, (i. e. a National Convention and a Correſponding Society,") which motions were unanimouſly agreed to. (See Remembrancer, vol. ix. p. 108.

"Moſt of the other counties and towns came to reſolutions ſubſtantially the ſame. The following is a copy of that paſſed in Weſtminſter Hall:

"Reſolved *nemine contradiçente*, That this meeting do approve of a National Aſſociation, on legal and conſtitutional grounds, to promote a reform in the expenditure of public money, to reduce all exorbitant emoluments, to reſcind and aboliſh all ſinecure places and unmerited penſions, and to reſtore and ſecure to the people the freedom and independence of Parliament, as indiſpenſibly neceſſary to the State." A Committee of one hundred and three was then appointed, among whom were the following Gentlemen, who accepted the office—that is, they became Members of the Weſtminſter Correſponding Society, inſtituted for the purpoſe of procuring a Reform of Parliament, &c. by means of a National Convention, viz. Duke of Portland, Lord Temple, Lord Egremont, Lord Cholmondeley, preſent Lord Sydney, Mr. Burke, Lord Bulkeley, Mr. Baker, Mr. Hume, Mr. Almon, Mr. Adair, Mr. Thomas Grenville, &c.

"Mr. Burke was alſo a member of the Correſponding Society in Buckinghamſhire, and the Duke of Portland was the moſt buſy in promoting them all over the kingdom. Beſides being a member of more than a dozen of theſe bodies,

The London Conſtitutional Society, having the ſame object, was, for a long time, connected with thoſe county, and

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bodies, he was the Chairman of the Correſponding Society of the county of Nottingham.

"Theſe proceedings had not merely a Reform of Parliament for their object. They were taken with a view to reform all other branches of the State; and they were carried on in a tone far exceeding in boldneſs any thing of the preſent day.—The language then not only was, that Reform could never be obtained but by the efforts of the people themſelves, but moſt of the Petitions to Parliament ſet forth, that it would be derogatory from the honour and integrity of the Houſe of Commons, to grant the ſupplies till the grievances were redreſſed! The county of Middleſex unanimouſly reſolved to inſtruct their Repreſentatives to take the beſt meaſures for impeaching and bringing to juſtice the King's Miniſters; and many other counties reſolved, not that it was their opinion that annual Parliaments, &c. would be good things, but they reſolved that Parliaments ſhall be annual. "The Rights of the People"—"the Majeſty of the People," were then the faſhionable expreſſions, and ſeveral Gentlemen went ſo far as to ſay, that Ireland had only obtained her independence by the force of 60,000 bayonets, and that if Parliament did not comply with their Petitions, it would be neceſſary to take the ſame means to enforce them.

"Such was the temper of theſe Meetings, which not only formed Correſponding Societies, but ſent Delegates to a National Convention. Of that Convention which met both in March, 1780, and March, 1781, and which paſſed numberleſs Reſolutions in favour of Parliamentary Reform, I find by Mr. Wyvill's laſt publication, that the following Gentlemen, among others, were Members: Mr. Windham, Lord Althorpe, now Earl Spencer, Mr. Baker, Mr. R. M. T. Chiſwell, Mr. Thomas Grenville, Sir George Yonge, &c. &c."

"The following extract from a Proteſt entered by the Duke of Dorſet, Lords Aſhburnham, Hampden, &c. againſt the proceedings of the county of Surry, will ſhew that the very ſame objections were then made to thoſe meaſures by the friends of Government, which are now brought forward againſt them by the very Alarmiſts who originally gave them birth.

"And we do moſt particularly proteſt againſt the Reſolutions of appointing a Committee of Correſpondence, with the declared purpoſe of forming General Aſſociations, apparently tending to over-rule the Legiſlature, to introduce

and diſtrict aſſociations, * which met for the purpoſe of exciting the people to require a parliamentary reform. Nor was any blame imputed, or any puniſhment threatened, to the individuals who compoſed theſe ſocieties, at a period when their preſent perſecutors were members of them. How far the principal alarmiſts in the miniſterial ariſtocracy of the preſent day were connected with theſe meetings, and their proceedings, that conſiſtent, perſevering, and ſteady friend of reform, the Rev. Mr. Wyvill, † has very properly diſcloſed to the public; and it would be deſirable, that his account ſhould be compleated from the earlier records of the Conſtitutional Society of London. This would contribute much to ſhew the tergiverſation of pretended patriots, and diſcloſe the political character and conduct of that ſet of men, whoſe trade it is to cajole the people, till they can ſpurn them.

The addreſſes to and from the ſocieties of France, and the Revolution Society of London, the members of the laſt mentioned ſociety have publiſhed at length, much to their honour, and much, as I think, to the credit of the perſons who appear actuated by ſuch ſentiments of general philanthropy and mutual good will.

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introduce meaſures inconſiſtent with, and ſubverſive of our preſent excellent Conſtitution, and leading to confuſion and anarchy."

"After ſuch authorities as theſe, it would ſurely have been very preſumptuous in the Secretary of the Friends of the People to have condemned a Convention of Delegates either as illegal, or as improper at any time; and it was perhaps ſetting himſelf too boldly forward againſt the example of Earl Spencer, and Mr. Windham, even to ſay that ſuch a meaſure would be raſh at preſent; for when they were Members of a Convention, the country was in much more diſtreſs, the people were much more diſcontented, and conſequently the danger was greater than at preſent.

"July 5, 1794. A FRIEND OF THE PEOPLE."

* Such as the Yorkſhire Aſſociation, the Quintuple Alliance, &c.

† Political Papers, chiefly reſpecting the Reformation of the Parliament of Great-Britain, three Vols. Octavo, of which are already publiſhed.

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The moſt detailed, however, though not a compleat account, of the proceedings of the numerous patriotic ſocieties, eſtabliſhed and continued within theſe two or three years, the public owe to the labours of the Committee of Secrecy of the Houſe of Commons, appointed in the preſent year, 1794, to examine and report upon the contents of the papers forcibly taken from the Secretaries, and others, belonging to thoſe ſocieties. In theſe reports, ſome papers are evidently omitted which the public would probably have been glad to have ſeen. But, in return, many of the extracts publiſhed by the Committee are clearly ſuch as the ſoreneſs and irritability of government, would not have permitted any other ſet of men to have ſent out into the world. The neceſſary attention to common prudence would have forbidden it.

I do not know which, among the bold and the very important truths contained in thoſe reports, are meant to be regarded as treaſonable: for it is evident, that there can be no ſuch crime as treaſon, until ſome overt act expreſſive of the treaſon, ſhall make it manifeſt. The eſſence of libel conſiſts in publication; and whether ſeditious and inflammatory ſentiments be diſperſed among the people, by A. or by B. ſeems immaterial; the crime, is, the diſperſion of them among the people. How far the Gentlemen who have publiſhed theſe reports have played into the hands of their opponents, and purſued the line of conduct, which the preſumed delinquents would moſt gladly have followed had they dared—how far they have been guilty of the very act they complain of, in the complaint itſelf, is not for me to determine. But ſurely it may be aſked, if the ſentiments they reprobate are improper to be publiſhed, why publiſh them? And if they are not improper to be publiſhed, why complain of them? At all events, however, we now know, and from the higheſt authority, what are the doctrines obnoxious to government; and the people are thus put into poſſeſſion of facts and ſentiments, of which they muſt form, for the preſent, their own opinion; while the future Hiſtorian will rejoice at a

circumſtance which has enabled him to give a more compleat account, and form a ſounder judgment of the events of theſe times than he could otherwiſe have hoped for. What is wanting to make theſe reports compleat, other perſons of better information ſhould endeavour to ſupply, ſo far as the circumſtances of the times will authorize. Perhaps the doctrine of libel may relax a little from its preſent ſeverity, and truth be permitted to ſhew herſelf among us, without being ſo frequently ſubject to the laſh of the law.——Being deſirous of contributing my ſhare of information on theſe ſubjects (the reſult of dear-bought experience) for the benefit of thoſe, who, influenced by the ſame motives, may become liable to the ſame perſecutions, I have ſat down to relate ſome of the political tranſactions which have taken place at Mancheſter, of late years; and I hope, that the reader will find matter for much important reflection in the narrative I am about to give.

Since the years 1715 and 1745, remarkable for the attempts of the Stuart family to regain the throne, the ſons of thoſe, who at that time abetted the Pretender, had with their hopes of ſucceſs given up all attachment to the remains of that degraded and wretched family. But the old doctrines of paſſive obedience and non-reſiſtance were not entirely renounced, and very many among the inhabitants of Mancheſter and its vicinity adhered with the uſual bigotry to what are commonly called *High-Church* principles; principles, which, it is well known, moſt frequently deſcend with the names and properties of thoſe who profeſs them. Perſons who embrace theſe opinions, take for granted, that the religion and the politics of a nation muſt always go together: and if one ſet of men be diſpoſed to a different form of worſhip from another, it is held as a thing impoſſible for the two to concur in a common form of government. Thus are fellow citizens ſet at variance in this world for opinions that relate to another.

The

The eſtabliſhed clergy, whoſe ſalaries and ſinecures depend upon the continuance of the public error in this reſpect, take care that the people ſhall not be undeceived; and brand with hereſy and innovation all thoſe who expreſs their doubts of a poſition, which, however vehemently aſſerted, has never yet been proved.

The commencement of party violence in Mancheſter may be dated from the year 1789, when the diſcuſſions reſpecting the Corporation and Teſt Acts occupied much of the public attention. In that year the Proteſtant Diſſenters conceived, that from the apparent liberality of all ranks of men in matters of religion, the times were ſufficiently favourable for them to renew their applications to Parliament for a repeal of the Acts juſt mentioned, the majority againſt them on a former queſtion being not more than twenty votes. The Clergy, however, either were, or pretended to be, alarmed; and, on a ſudden, the fears of thoſe who cried out, "the Church was in danger," became as wild and abſurd as ever they were in the days of Sacheverell and his party. At laſt they became ſufficiently enthuſiaſtic in Mancheſter to call a meeting of thoſe particularly attached to their own opinions, under the title of Members of the Eſtabliſhed Church, in order (theſe are their own words) "to "conſider of and conſult about the impropriety of the ap- "plication to Parliament of the Proteſtant Diſſenters to ob- "tain a repeal of thoſe ſalutary laws, the Corporation and "Teſt Acts, the great bulwarks and barriers, for a century "and upwards, of our glorious Conſtitution in Church and "State." *

The meeting held in purſuance of this advertiſement was called a PUBLIC MEETING of the Members of the Eſtabliſhed Church. The room, however, was nearly filled

* The requiſition to the Boroughreeve and Conſtables to call this meeting was ſigned firſt by the *Churchwardens* of about half a dozen of the pariſh, and other churches in Mancheſter: a circumſtance ſufficiently evincing the activity of the Clergy upon this occaſion.

by the adherents of the High-Church party before any others could be admitted. To increaſe the ſolemnity, the Clergy attended in their gowns and caſſocks. Some oppoſition was made to the manner, in which the meeting had been called, and the indecent ſtratagem by which the room had been previouſly filled; and it was particularly objected, that, according to the rule which the town had adopted in the year 1788, the Boroughreeve and Conſtables had no right to call any meeting of the inhabitants, except a general one. * But the clamour of the High-Church men was violent beyond deſcription. Reſolutions prepared before-hand were put into the hands of the Boroughreeve, while he was in the midſt of his ſpeech, and explaining why he called the town together; and theſe reſolutions, ſeconded even before they were read, were as haſtily paſſed in the noiſe and confuſion which prevailed. Till the next morning, when they were printed, it is probable that few of the perſons preſent underſtood a ſyllable of what had been voted. †

A con-

* Upon the 8th day of July, 1788, the following Reſolution was paſſed, at a numerous and reſpectable public meeting of the Inhabitants of the town of Mancheſter, viz.

"Reſolved,

"That the Boroughreeve and Conſtables have no right to call any meeting of the Inhabitants of this Town, but a general one; and that the preſent Boroughreeve and Conſtables, Mr. George Barton, Mr. Nathan Crompton, and Mr. James Entwiſle, have the very ſincere and particular thanks of this meeting, for calling a general meeting of the Inhabitants upon this very great and important queſtion."

† Among the Reſolutions voted was the following, viz.

"That the religion of the State be the religion of the Magiſtrate, without which no ſociety can be wiſely confident of the integrity and good faith of the perſons appointed to places of truſt and power."

If this be true, it ought to be carried further, and exclude from the Legiſlature all thoſe who are not of the religion of the State. The ſituation of the maker of laws, is much higher than that of the Magiſtrate, who only adminiſters them, and who is, or ſhould be, accountable to the public tribunals for every miſconduct. Surely, if there be no danger in a Diſſenter being

A conduct like this gave extreme diſguſt to myſelf and others, who, without being partial to any body of men, wiſhed to ſee thoſe of every religious perſuaſion placed upon an equal footing. Religious differences would ſoon become

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being a Member of Parliament, there can be none in his being a Country Juſtice, an Alderman, or an Exciſeman. But error is almoſt always inconſiſtent.

However, as the Reſolutions themſelves, with the ſtile of their introduction to the public, are fair ſpecimens of the temper and principles of the High-Church party at that time, I here preſent them to the reader:

"CONSTITUTION AGAINST INNOVATION.

"THE *real* Friends of this Town and Neighbourhood, Members of the ESTABLISHED CHURCH, and *firm* in the OLD CAUSE, have again an Opportunity of congratulating their Fellow Citizens (this Day) on the complete Overthrow of the

"PROTESTANT DISSENTERS."

"And notwithſtanding the Legions of Diſſenting Congregations, headed by their reſpective PASTORS of this Town and Neighbourhood (who ſo indecently *foiſted* themſelves, *uninvited*, upon the Meeting) they were ROUTED, and DISAPPOINTED in their MARKED VIRULENCE and RESTLESS OPPOSITION *to the good* ORDER and CONSTITUTIONAL PROCEEDINGS of the MEETING, as well as to that ORDER which ought EVER to prevail in the STATE.

"THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND FOR EVER.

"*Manchester*, 3*d February*, 1790."

"MANCHESTER, 3*d* FEBRUARY, 1790.

"AT a MOST RESPECTABLE and NUMEROUS MEETING of the "Town and Neighbourhood of MANCHESTER,

"Convened THIS DAY, at the HOTEL, by public Advertiſement, inſerted in both the Mancheſter Newſpapers, and at the written Requeſt of Seventy four Members of the Church of England, for the Purpoſe of *conſidering of, and conſulting about, the Impropriety of the Application to Parliament, of the Proteſtant Diſſenters, to obtain a Repeal of thoſe ſalutary Laws*,

"THE CORPORATION AND TEST ACTS,

"*the great Bulwarks and Barriers, for a Century and upwards, of our glorious Conſtitution in Church and State*," when the following Reſolutions were moved, ſeconded, twice read, and carried by a very large Majority, although

become of little importance, if all men were left to go to Heaven their own way, without perſecution or proſcription for their opinions. Theſe ſentiments prevailed among a great number of the inhabitants, who adjourned the ſame day (Feb. 3) to a different houſe, and proteſted againſt theſe High-Church proceedings.

Until

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although the Proteſtant Diſſenters of the Town and Neighbourhood, attended in a very large Body, in direct Oppoſition to the Requiſition and Advertiſements, which convened only Members of the Eſtabliſhed Church.

"RESOLVED,

"I. That the Application to Parliament by the Proteſtant Diſſenters for the Repeal of the Corporation and Teſt Acts, is in our Opinion improper; becauſe we cannot but eſteem ſuch Repeal ſubverſive of our Conſtitution in Church and State.

"II. THAT an eſtabliſhed Religion is the Baſis and beſt Security of civil Society; and it is found expedient for the public Tranquillity, that the Religion of the State be the Religion of the Magiſtrate, without which no Society can be wiſely confident of the Integrity and good Faith of the Perſons appointed to Places of Truſt and Power. Hence the Wiſdom of our Anceſtors in requiring ſome public Profeſſion, ſome ſacred Teſt of Conformity to the Eſtabliſhment, for the due Exerciſe and Performance of Office, the Security of our Laws, and the Preſervation of our Conſtitution.

"III. THAT the Legiſlature of this Country hath an indubitable Right to enjoin ſuch Teſts, as they think will beſt preſerve our Religious and Civil Eſtabliſhments; and we approve and admire the Wiſdom of our Anceſtors in enacting the Receiving the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper according to the Uſage of the Church of England as a ſufficient Teſt, and effectual Safeguard to our happy Conſtitution in Church and State.

"IV. THAT the Corporation and Teſt Acts give Strength and Permanency to our excellent Conſtitution, and ought to be tranſmitted unimpaired to the lateſt Poſterity.

"V. THAT the Teſt Laws are in no wiſe intended to oppreſs the Diſſenters from the Church, but as a Security againſt any Endeavours to overturn the Eſtabliſhment, and that as the Diſſenters from the Eſtabliſhment, become ſuch by their own free Choice, they have no juſt Ground of Complaint againſt theſe Barriers, which the Wiſdom of the Legiſlature hath thought proper to enact for the Preſervation of both Church and State.

Until this period the bickerings between the Friends to Liberty and the idolaters of authority in Mancheſter, were carried on with a ſpirit of oppoſition, indeed, but not of hatred. The Clergy, however, looked upon this liberality toward the Diſſenters, as an act of open hoſtility againſt themſelves. Sermons were every where preached againſt all who favoured the repeal of theſe acts of Parliament, much in the ſame way as of late they have been againſt what is called Sedition. This is a practice as pernicious as any that fanaticiſm or arbitrary power have ever employed: for the doctrines delivered to an ignorant multitude from the pulpit are not to be repelled by oppoſite doctrines, like fair public or printed arguments, but are like wounds in the dark which become fatal before a remedy can be procured.

Immediately after the Bill for the repeal of the Teſt Acts was thrown out, the party in Mancheſter who oppoſed that meaſure formed themſelves into a body, which they ſtiled the CHURCH AND KING CLUB. Their firſt meeting was held on the 13th of March, 1790, with ſolemnities as ridiculous as

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"VI. THAT as we conceive the Diſſenters to enjoy already a compleat and uninterrupted Toleration (which we are far from wiſhing to deprive them of) it becomes every Member of the Eſtabliſhed Church to take the Alarm at their Conduct, to be ready to meet them in Parliament, and oppoſe with Vigour every Endeavour and undue Influence exerciſed upon the Parliamentary Repreſentatives of this Country, eſpecially at the Eve of a General Election, for obtaining a Repeal of the Corporation and Teſt Acts.

"VII. THAT this Meeting are ſenſible of their high Obligations to all thoſe Members of the Houſe of Commons, who lately in Parliament ſo ably ſtood forward in Defence of our Conſtitution, by oppoſing the Repeal of the Corporation and Teſt Acts.

"VIII. THAT the particular Thanks of this Meeting are due to the Chairman for his candid, upright, and impartial Conduct, and that the Chairman leave the Chair, and the Meeting be diſſolved.

"EDWARD PLACE, Boroughreeve and Chairman."

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any to be found in the hiſtory of toryiſm.* They wore uniforms, with the repreſentation of the *Old Church* at Manchester engraved on their buttons. They appointed a committee for the admiſſion of members of ſuitable lives and converſations, and ſtruck medals to commemorate the fact, that the motion for the repeal had been negatived in Parliament. Every thing ſaid in favour of liberty or liberality, was to theſe gentlemen a declaration of war againſt the Conſtitution in Church and State. The ſtanding toaſt of their club, and in their private ſocieties, was, *Church and King, and down with the Rump*; and they ſeemed anxious to keep alive at their meetings the abſurd prejudices which diſtinguiſhed and diſgraced their predeceſſors of the laſt century.

Some months after this, (during which time theſe gentlemen kept up their clamour without oppoſition) viz. in the beginning of October, 1790, ſeveral merchants and manufacturers in Mancheſter, together with ſome members of the earned profeſſions, agreed to form another ſociety of a character very different from the Church and King club. We met monthly under the name of the MANCHESTER CONSTITUTIONAL SOCIETY; and endeavoured, to the beſt of our power, to oppoſe the intolerant and ſlaviſh doctrines which were daily inſtilled into the people. The fundamental tenets of this ſociety were expreſſed in certain reſolutions agreed to on the 5th of October, 1790. Some time afterward (viz. in June 1792) one of the diviſions of the Church and King Club alſo (for at this time there were ſeveral,) thought proper to publiſh their political creed. That the reader may have an op-

* Their Advertiſement was as follows:

"MANCHESTER, *March* 5, 1790.

"The Members of the Church and King Club intend to dine at the Hotel on Saturday the 13th Inſtant, to celebrate the *glorious* Deciſion of the Houſe of Commons on Tueſday laſt upon the great Conſtitutional Queſtion, the Repeal of the Corporation and Teſt Acts."

They were afterwards called by ſome wicked Wit, the TYTHE AND TAX CLUB.

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portunity of comparing and judging of the principles of theſe different ſocieties, I have contraſted the two publications juſt mentioned, in the note. *

To

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* "MANCHESTER CONSTITUTIONAL SOCIETY,

"Inſtituted October, 1790.

"RESOLUTION I.—That in every civil Community, the legitimate authority of the *Governors*, can only be derived from the conſent of the *Governed*.

"II. That the happineſs of the people governed ought to be the ſole end and aim of all civil government.

"III. That public honours and emoluments can only be due for ſervices conferred on the State.

"IV. That every perſon, from the higheſt to the loweſt, appointed to and accepting of any office or truſt for the benefit of the Community, is ultimately reſponſible to the people for the complete diſcharge of the duties of it.

"V. That *Actions* only, and not *Opinions*, are the proper objects of civil juriſdiction.

"VI. That no Law or Statute can be fairly made, which is not enacted by and with the conſent of a majority of the people, given either expreſsly by themſelves, or by means of a full, fair, and adequate Repreſentation.

"VII. That the People of Great Britain are not fully, fairly, and adequately repreſented in Parliament; and that the defective ſtate of the Repreſentation of this country, and the extended duration of Parliaments, require a ſpeedy and effectual reform, and are objects to which the attention of this Society ought to be particularly directed."

"THE CHURCH AND KING CLUB,

"Held at the houſe of Mr. Jonathan Foſter, the Weaver's Arms, on Cockpit-Hill, Mancheſter, think it neceſſary, openly, in the following Declaration, to ſtate their reaſons for publiſhing their Principles.

"DECLARATION.

"This Society beholds with infinite concern the many dangerous plots and aſſociations that are forming in different parts of this kingdom, for the avowed purpoſe of diſſeminating diſcord, and for ſubverting the order of one of the moſt beautiful ſyſtems of government, that the combined efforts of human wiſdom has ever yet been able to accompliſh.

To the Manchester Conſtitutional Society their adverſaries imputed as a political offence never to be forgiven, that they approved of the French Revolution, and the then conſtitution of that country; and as we profeſſed it to be the principal object

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"When we ſee ſuch *deadly wounds* aimed at our glorious conſtitution, we conſider it the duty of all good citizens, publicly to ſtep forward, and expreſs their abhorrence of the malevolent and moſt wicked intentions of thoſe diſappointed men, who are audaciouſly clamorous for a reform in parliament, but whoſe real object is to excite civil commotion in this our *happy* and well-governed ſtate.

"We are far from believing, ſhould they ever effect their purpoſe, (which Heaven forbid!) that the change would be for the better, but muſt always regard thoſe perſons as the bane of civil ſociety, who have given ſo many proofs of an innate propenſity for power, and of that reſtleſs ambition which has long been their moſt diſtinguiſhed characteriſtic.

"PRINCIPLES OF THE CHURCH AND KING CLUB.

"It is a principle of this Society, to revere the Conſtitution and obey the King, according to the Laws of that Conſtitution.

"It is a principle of this Society, to reprobate the wild theories and ſeditious doctrines reſpecting the Rights of Man, which have been lately promulgated by the enemies of our moſt excellent conſtitution in church and ſtate, as they are ſubverſive of all civil authority; and that, if they were put in practice, would tend to nothing but anarchy and confuſion, which is contrary to all order.

"It is a principle of this Society, that the Conſtitution of this country was renovated and fixed at the time of the glorious Revolution.

"It is a principle of this Society, that the Conſtitution has not ſince that time been eſſentially departed from.

"It is a principle of this Society, that the Legiſlature of this country ought ever to conſiſt of King, Lords, and Commons.

"It is a principle of this Society, that all other modes of legiſlation, than by King, Lords, and Commons, has always been found, by experience, repugnant to the genius of Engliſhmen.

"It is a principle of this Society, that the Eſtabliſhment in Church and State, is not to be altered but by the Legiſlature itſelf; conſequently any other mode would be attended with extreme danger.

"It

object of our wiſhes and purſuits, that there might be ſome ſpeedy and effectual reform in the defective repreſentation of the people of Great Britain, they urged this as a proof of our deſigns to overturn the conſtitution of our own country, and to introduce a ſtate of anarchy and confuſion.

Theſe are now become the hackneyed topics of ariſtocratical calumny. They have come upon us, as they have upon all the worthieſt and beſt men of the country; and if there be any crime in the caſe, we muſt certainly plead guilty. I believe nothing has yet happened which has materially altered our ſentiments on theſe ſubjects.

In the affairs of France, we ſaw, as we thought, the moſt perfect and yet the moſt peaceful revolution to be found in

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"It is a principle of this Society, that it is requiſite in every good governed ſtate, that there muſt exiſt an eſtabliſhed Church, and that no one is to bear any office, either in church or ſtate, but ſuch as will conform, and be in communion with that church.

"It is a principle of this Society, that the Corporation and Teſt Acts are the great bulwarks of our conſtitution in church and ſtate, therefore ought never to be repealed.

"It is a principle of this Society, that Toleration in religious matters is to be extended to Diſſenters of every denomination.

"Finally, it is the fixed determination of this Society, at all times and in all places, to avow and maintain the above principles to be truly conſtitutional.

"Signed by Order of the Society.

"W. NIGHTINGALE, Preſident."

"*Mancheſter, June* 23, 1792."

Thoſe who wiſh to ſee a collection of the abſurdities which have been publicly avowed by the adherents of *Church and State Politics*, in the enlightened kingdom of Great Britain toward the cloſe of the 18th century, will do well to procure the Reſolutions on the ſubject of the Corporation and Teſt Acts of the various meetings in ſupport of thoſe *bulwarks* of our conſtitution. They are collected and printed in octavo, for Meſſ. Rivingtons, St. Paul's Church-yard.

the hiſtory of mankind. The cruelties of the *Lettres de Cachet*, the injuſtice of the *Droit d'Aubaine*, the perſecutions of the Proteſtants, the exactions of the Intendants, were repealed, diſavowed, and ſtigmatized. Monopolies of all ſorts, which bore ſo heavy upon the poor, were aboliſhed, and they groaned no longer under the compulſory tax of the *Gabelle*, or the ſervitude of the *Corvées*. Heaps of barbarous and antiquated laws, differing from each other in the various diſtricts of the country, were abrogated; and the innumerable convents of both ſexes were forbidden to receive freſh ſacrifices to that worſt of ſuperſtitions. The hereditary judicature of the parliaments, by which juſtice was made a property in the hands of a few families, was commuted for trial by jury; and a ſyſtem of repreſentation was arranged for the whole country, with ſcarcely any oppoſition, and without any commotion.* Comparing this ſtate

* That the reader may be fully aware of the number and extent of the abuſes which exiſted under the old government of France, I have added, as an appendix, the teſtimony of one who cannot now be ſuſpected of much partiality in favour of the Revolution. Mr. Arthur Young, to whom I allude, publiſhed within one year his *Tour to France*, and *The Example of France a Warning to Britain*. The former full of democratic paſſages, and of invectives againſt the miſery of the common people, and the inſolence, ignorance, and oppreſſive conduct of the privileged orders of France. The latter work is of an oppoſite complexion; containing an abuſe of the French Revolution, ſo violent, and ſo declamatory, as to diſguſt by its malignity even many of that claſs of readers who were prepared to admire it, and who might not otherwiſe have been diſguſted at the ſhallow ſophiſtry, ſo evident in every page of that weak and wicked performance.

How happens it, that, in the ſpace of a few months, this extraordinary converſion, this public recantation of opinion, ſhould have proceeded from a man who ſeemed ſo deeply impreſſed with the neceſſity of a change of government in France, and ſo querulous too reſpecting the neglect of the public toward his own ſupereminent abilities, and the enormous weight of taxes with which his ſlender patrimony was burthened, by the oppreſſive finance of his own country? How happens it, that the ſame name could appear to *the 86th number of the Annals of Agriculture, the Tour into France, and the Example of France a Warning to Britain?*

Some

ſtate of things with the three long and laſting tyrannies of Louis XIII. XIV. and XV. was it criminal to look with delight and admiration on the proſpect before us, of ſo many millions of men juſt reſtored to their rights from a condition of abject ſlavery, in which the nation had continued from the year 1614? In the year 1790, France appeared to have acquired a ſtate of freedom equal to that of America, but without the ſame ſtruggle. At the Confederation of Paris, July 14th, 1790, the King, the Army, and the great body of the People, accepted and ratified this Conſtitution. On the 14th of July following, the ſame ceremony took place, and the ſame harmony (notwithſtanding the King's flight, in June) appeared between him and the people. Theſe circumſtances, doubtleſs, affected us in common with all other Engliſhmen, who looked back to and admired the acts of their forefathers. But the ſame ſentiments and feelings were not to be expected from thoſe, whoſe anceſtors had favoured the families, and who themſelves admired the maxims, of the houſe of Stuart *.

On

Some time *previous* to the laſt-mentioned publication, a Board of Agriculture was in contemplation, and a ſhort time *after*, when the Board was formed, his Majeſty was pleaſed to appoint Mr. Young the Secretary, with, I am told, a ſalary of 500*l.* a year. Sir John Sinclair, who, in the preface to his Hiſtory of the Revenue, had complained moſt grievouſly of the illiberality of Mr. Pitt, but had afterwards found reaſon to vote with the Miniſtry, was made Preſident of this new (may it prove an uſeful) inſtitution.—"What makes all doctrines plain and clear?" &c. &c.

I do not mean to approve of all the extracts which I ſhall give as an appendix; for I think much more favourably of the general proceedings of the French when the extracts in queſtion were penned, than even Mr. Young did: but I do not know ſo complete and intereſting a detail, in the Engliſh language, of the abuſes of the old French government as Mr. Young has there given.

* I have left unnoticed the uſual declamations about the calamities of Paris, the maſſacres of September, and the other horrors that are ſo frequently attributed to the French as a nation, and to the ſtruggle for liberty as the cauſe of them. But I would aſk, Which of theſe calamities took place before the con-

cert

On the 14th of July, 1791, the French Revolution was celebrated in London and other places. The Conſtitutional Society of Mancheſter adverti ſed a dinner for the ſame purpoſe, taking precautions which very baſe and unmanly inſinuations had rendered neceſſary.* We particularly deſired that no perſons would wear about them, or ſay, any thing which might create animoſity between us and thoſe who were of oppoſite ſentiments. We wiſhed peace and harmony to prevail on all ſides, and to leave opinions to find their own value. Not ſo our adverſaries; for, on the morning before this, a moſt inflammatory

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cert of Princes; before the treaty of Pilnitz; before the well-known Manifeſto by the Duke of Brunſwick, on the part of our *faithful* ally his Majeſty of Pruſſia; before the *actual invaſion* of France by the continental Deſpots; and, finally, before the *treacherous* ſurrender of ſome important fortreſſes into their hands?

"*June* 15, 1791.

* "The MANCHESTER CONSTITUTIONAL SOCIETY have their Annual Dinner at the Bridgewater Arms, on Thurſday the 14th day of July next, being the Anniverſary of the French Revolution; at which time and place the company of the Friends of Freedom is requeſted.

"GEORGE LLOYD,
"THOMAS WALKER,
"JAMES DARBISHIRE,
"THOMAS COOPER,
"GEORGE PHILIPS,
"THOMAS KERSHAW,
} Stewards.

"Tickets 3s. 6*d.* each, to be had at the Bar of the Bridgewater Arms, and at Meſſ. Falkner and Birch's, Stationers, in the Market-place.

"Dinner at three o'clock preciſely.

"The object of this meeting being not only to commemorate the inſtitution of the Mancheſter Conſtitutional Society, but alſo to celebrate, as a ſubject of exultation, the overthrow of deſpotiſm, and the eſtabliſhment of civil and religious liberty in France,—the Stewards requeſt that no gentleman will on that day move or introduce for diſcuſſion any queſtion relating to the political parties or local concerns of this country; or wear any cockade, or other badge of diſtinction, which may give unneceſſary offence to thoſe of our fellow citizens who have not yet been led to feel as ardently upon this great event as ourſelves."

hand-

hand-bill was diſtributed throughout the town, containing, amongſt others, this ſentence, that "if Engliſhmen had the "ſpirit they uſed to have, they would, on the 14th of July, "pull the houſe we aſſembled at over our heads; and the "brains of every man who dined there, would much be im-"proved by being mingled with brick and mortar."

Recollecting ſince the horrid tranſactions which paſſed on this ſame day at Birmingham, and the manner in which, and the deſcription of perſons by whom they were conducted, I have been ſomewhat ſurprized that nothing of the ſame kind was attempted with us. But the ſtate of things was not favourable to ſuch an attempt at that ſeaſon, however deſirous ſome perſons might be of making it. I had in a conſiderable degree the police of the town in my own hands as Borough-reeve, * and moſt probably could have prevented any miſ-chief

* The town of Manchester has neither mayor nor bailiffs, nor any other officers of a body corporate. The regulation of the police is in three officers, viz. a Boroughreeve or Head-borough, and two Conſtables, who perhaps were a century ago ſufficient to keep the peace among the inhabitants of their juriſdiction.

Theſe officers are annually elected in October by a jury of the Leet ſummoned by the Lord of the Manor.

The Borough-reeve is conſidered as the principal officer, and in that capacity preſides at public meetings, is applied to upon all public buſineſs, has the diſtribution of certain charities, &c. &c.

From the immenſely increaſed population within the laſt few years, the Magiſtrates of the county have annually ſworn in about two hundred additional Conſtables, who are called Special Conſtables.

If this were the proper place, I think I could ſhew that the town of Manchester owes much of its wealth and importance to its unincorporated character, and that, by the above-mentioned ſyſtem, public order might be as fully maintained as it ever was in the beſt regulated corporations in England.

It has been obſerved with great truth, that towns where manufactures are moſt flouriſhing, are ſeldom bodies corporate, commerce requiring univerſa encourage-

chief by timely exertion. This was well known. The ſcheme therefore, if any was in contemplation, proved abortive, and the day paſſed over in the utmoſt tranquillity. But, from the experience of what the unhappy families at Birmingham ſuffered in their property, how narrowly ſome of them eſcaped with their lives, and from the ſymptoms of a perſecuting ſpirit in the town of Mancheſter, which were betrayed by the hand-bill before mentioned, and from the way in which the account of the Birmingham riots was received and ſpoken of in this town, I determined to be upon my guard, if any occurrences of a ſimilar nature ſhould ever take place in Mancheſter.

The two newſpapers uſually publiſhed in that town, began now to refuſe communications on the ſide of liberty. One of them (publiſhed by Harrop) had always been violently de-

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encouragement, inſtead of excluſive privileges to the natives and freemen of a particular diſtrict. Thoſe who firſt introduced the Cotton manufacture into Lancaſhire, were proteſtant refugees, who probably found ſmall encouragement for themſelves and their induſtry amongſt the corporate towns of England. In the ſame manner, the Silk trade was eſtabliſhed by the French emigrants of the laſt century, in Spital-fields, as being in the ſuburbs and without, what are called, the *Liberties* of the city of London.

In Languedoc, and other Proteſtant parts of France, there are perſons who ſtill talk of their relations in this country. Various Watch-makers, deſcendants of thoſe who were perſecuted for their diſſent from the Catholic church and arbitrary government, are ſtill to be found in the pariſhes of St. Anne Soho, and St. Martin's in the Fields, which, as is well known, were conſidered at that period as being out of the metropolis.

It is almoſt needleſs to obſerve that this country owes much of its commercial character and proſperity to the freedom it was ſuppoſed to poſſeſs; that the Woollen manufacture was principally eſtabliſhed in conſequence of the ſuperſtition and cruelty of Philip the Second of Spain; and that we are equally indebted to the extreme folly and wickedneſs of that French Monarch who revoked the Edict of Nantz for ſeveral valuable manufactures beſides the Silk and Cotton. Theſe ideas, though not immediately connected with what I had to ſay reſpecting the Borough-reeve, ſo naturally occurred at this moment, that I could not paſs on without laying them before the reader.

 voted

voted to the High-Church party, and the other (Wheeler's) was eaſily induced to adopt the ſame conduct.* Some members of the Conſtitutional Society, therefore, propoſed to Mr. Matthew Falkner, a member of that Society, to commence a new paper, under the name of the Mancheſter Herald, which was begun on the 31ſt of March, 1792, and continued to the 23d of March, 1793, with a degree of ſpirit and reputation that will not ſoon be forgotten in this neighbourhood.

On the 13th of April, 1792, Mr. Cooper and Mr. James Watt, jun. on the part of the Mancheſter Conſtitutional Society, preſented an Addreſs to the Society of Jacobins at Paris, which, on the 30th of the ſame month, produced a moſt virulent invective from Mr. Burke, in the Houſe of Commons. On the 8th of May, the Mancheſter Society publiſhed tranſlations of the Addreſs and the Reply to it; for which, and for a defence of their proceedings on this occaſion, I refer to "Cooper's Reply to Burke's Invective," a publication which, from the very favourable acceptance of the public, was certainly worthy of an anſwer, but to which Mr. Burke has not yet condeſcended to reply, either from want of inclination, or, more probably, from want of argument.

As the Mancheſter Conſtitutional Society was now brought forward very conſpicuouſly before the public, it became the object of much converſation and calumny. To prevent

* There is not a more formidable enemy to political error than a newſpaper impartially conducted. All parties in this country are aware of this. Hence the tax upon paper, the tax upon newſpapers, the penalty on lending papers, the threats and inducements uſed toward the publicans throughout the kingdom, to reject ſome and take in others. Hence the proſecutions which have been carried on againſt the Argus, the Morning Chronicle, the Mancheſter, the Sheffield, and the Leiceſter papers. Hence, in many public-houſes throughout the kingdom, you ſee none but ſuch contemptible papers as the Sun and the True Briton.

The ſame ſpirit has laid a very heavy tax on imported books, and granted a bounty on their export.

miſtake and miſrepreſentation, the members thought it neceſſary about this time to publiſh the following declaration of their views and intentions :—

" *Bull's Head Inn, Manchester, May* 15, 1792.

" At a Meeting of the MANCHESTER CONSTITUTIONAL SOCIETY,

" Reſolved,

" That the great object of this Society is, and always has been, to effect a reform in the preſent very inadequate, and corrupt ſtate of the Repreſentation of the people.

" That as the defective ſtate of the repreſentation of the people has introduced into the conſtitution of this country all the abuſes which deform it, this Society earneſtly invite their fellow citizens to a ſerious and diſpaſſionate conſideration of this moſt important ſubject, which, they are happy to learn, will be brought before the Houſe of Commons in the next Seſſion of Parliament.

" That the following Declaration be laid before the Public :—

" DECLARATION.

" The views of the Mancheſter Conſtitutional Society having been lately much miſrepreſented, we think it neceſſary to ſtate to the public the general principles, on which our aſſociation is founded; and the purpoſes, which we aim at accompliſhing.—The political maxims, in which individually and collectively we agree, are—

" That the power veſted in every government is derived from the people—That the perſons who exerciſe it are ultimately reſponſible to them—and that the happineſs of the people ſhould be the ſole end of every government.

" We diſclaim any intention of endeavouring the overthrow of the Britiſh Conſtitution—OUR AIM is to reſtore the conſtitution to its original purity, by removing the corruptions and

and abuſes that deform it, and which render its practice at perpetual variance with its applauded theory. We are particularly anxious, that the Houſe of Commons ſhould be in reality, what it is in name, and pretenſion, the Repreſentative Body of the Commons of Great Britain; and that the members of that Houſe ſhould owe their ſeats to the good opinion, and free ſuffrage of the people at large, and not to the proſtituted votes of venal and corrupted boroughs. As it is the boaſt of our conſtitution, that it combines the advantages of three ſeparate eſtates, it is eſſential to its purity that the rights of the Commons ſhould be preſerved inviolate; and that neither the King, by his Miniſters, nor any Peer of the realm, ſhould influence the choice of thoſe who are the oſtenſible repreſentatives of the people. It is a matter of notoriety that TWO HUNDRED and FIFTY-FOUR members of the Houſe of Commons, are elected BY LESS THAN SIX THOUSAND PERSONS,* and that a great number of the boroughs which return theſe members are at the diſpoſal of the Peerage, or under other unconſtitutional influence.

"We are farther deſirous, that the moſt effectual means ſhould be adopted of ſecuring to the people the integrity of their repreſentatives. For this end, the duration of parliaments, ſo unconſtitutionally extended to ſeven years, ought to be contracted; in order that the exerciſe of the right of appointing their repreſentatives may more frequently revert to the people; and that the members of the Houſe of Commons, knowing that the renewal of their truſt muſt depend on an honeſt diſcharge of it, may feel it their intereſt, as well as their duty, to do the buſineſs of their conſtituents with fidelity. On the ſubject of the corrupt influence which exiſts in the government of this country, we are happy to uſe the authority of Mr. Burke, who, on preſenting ſome years ago to the Houſe of Commons, "A Plan for the better Se-

* The moſt numerous meeting of the Commons, in our recollection, was 502 members.

" curity of the Independence of Parliament, and the œco-
" nomical Reformation of the Civil and other Eſtabliſh-
" ments," made this animated declaration,—" *What I con-*
" *feſs was uppermoſt with me, what I bent the whole force of*
" *my mind to, was the reduction of that corrupt influence, which*
" *is itſelf the perennial ſpring of all prodigality, and of all diſ-*
" *order*; *which loads us more than millions of debt*; *which*
" *takes away vigour from our arms, wiſdom from our councils,*
" *and every ſhadow of authority and credit from the moſt ve-*
" *nerable parts of our conſtitution.*" The teſtimony of the Houſe of Commons may alſo be quoted to the ſame purpoſe, which adopted, not many years ago, the following reſolution, which was ſupported by Mr. Burke, viz.—" *That the*
" *influence of the crown has increaſed, is increaſing, and ought*
" *to be diminiſhed.*" We cannot believe that this corrupt influence is ſince diminiſhed; for it appears that even ſome of thoſe whom it formerly alarmed, are now drawn within its vortex.

" As the preſent tumultuary mode of electing the members of the Houſe of Commons, is diſgraceful to a well regulated ſociety, and fatal, in its conſequences, to the morals, and, ſometimes, even to the lives of our fellow citizens, we conceive it highly neceſſary that this defect ſhould be remedied, and that a peaceable, and, at the ſame, time an effectual plan, ſhould be eſtabliſhed for collecting the ſenſe of the public on ſuch occaſions.

" Inſtead of endeavouring to excite ſedition, we are ſolicitous, by a timely and well directed reform of abuſes, to remove all pretences for it; and we are convinced, that by acting on ſuch principles, and ſteadily adhering to ſuch objects, we give the beſt proof of our regard to the conſtitution, and to the peace and happineſs of this country. We cannot agree with thoſe, who, affecting a blind veneration for the defects as well as excellencies of our government, ſtrenuouſly oppoſe every attempt to eradicate evils long felt and complained of. The ſeaſonable removal of

 abuſes

abuſes would be the ſureſt pledge of public tranquillity; whilſt their continuance may eventually provoke popular indignation, and endanger even the exiſtence of the Britiſh Conſtitution.*

" Though we rejoice at the Revolution which has lately taken place in France, we do not pledge ourſelves to an approbation of all the meaſures which have been there adopted; with the particular reaſons of ſome of them we are not ſufficiently acquainted; and we moſt ſincerely deplore any calamities with which the change of the French Conſtitution may have been attended; neither would we at all inſinuate that ſuch a revolution as was made neceſſary by the wickedneſs of the former government of France, is requiſite for the very different circumſtances of Great Britain: But without comparing the wretched ſtate of the one country with the happier condition of the other, we rejoice as Men, that ſo many millions of our fellow creatures, formerly debaſed by ſlavery, are at length emancipated from it: and that a nation, whoſe government was once buſied in creating projects for the deſtruction of the human race, has diſplayed to the world the glorious example of renouncing all ſchemes of ambition and conqueſt, and avowing a ſyſtem of UNIVERSAL BENEVOLENCE.

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* Mr. Burke has expreſſed himſelf in a manner ſo appropriate to our purpoſe in his Speech of February the 11th, 1780, from which we have already made an extract, that we cannot do better than uſe his own words on this occaſion:— " I do moſt ſeriouſly put it to adminiſtration to conſider the wiſdom of a timely " reform: Early reformations are amicable arrangements with a friend in " power: Late reformations are terms impoſed on a conquered enemy:— " Early reformations are made in cool blood: Late reformations are made " under a ſtate of inflammation. In that ſtate of things, the people behold in " government nothing that is reſpectable: they ſee the abuſe, and they " will ſee nothing elſe: they fall into the temper of a furious populace, " provoked at the diſorder of a houſe of ill-fame: they never attempt to " correct, or regulate: they go to work by the ſhorteſt way—they abate the " nuiſance: they pull down the houſe——This is MY OPINION with " regard to the TRUE INTEREST OF GOVERNMENT."

" Such

"Such are our PRINCIPLES, our WISHES, and our DESIGNS. We have no SELFISH VIEWS—no PARTIAL INTERESTS to promote.—We are conſcious of no motive but the public good; and we can have no intereſt but in the public welfare.—The claims which we aſſert are guaranteed to us, not only by reaſon and juſtice, but by the CONSTITUTION ITSELF.—The neceſſity of an equal Repreſentation of the people in Parliament is admitted by the enlightened, and good of EVERY denomination; and as this is the GREAT OBJECT of our Aſſociation, we call upon our fellow-citizens to co-operate with us in the proſecution of our deſign, which may truly be called THE CAUSE OF THE PEOPLE.

"Signed by order, and on behalf of the Manchester Conſtitutional Society.

"THOMAS WALKER, Preſident.
"SAMUEL JACKSON, Secretary."

Within a week after the publication of this paper, his Majeſty's Miniſters iſſued a Proclamation againſt ſeditious writings, publications, and correſpondencies; a ſtate paper ſo curious, that even well known as it now is, I think it right to give a copy of it to the reader in this place, more eſpecially as it is here neceſſary to illuſtrate ſome other proceedings of the Societies.

"From the LONDON GAZETTE.

"Tueſday, May 22, 1792.

"By the KING, a PROCLAMATION.

"GEORGE R.

"Whereas divers wicked and ſeditious writings have been printed, publiſhed, and induſtriouſly diſperſed, tending to excite tumult and diſorder, by endeavouring to raiſe groundleſs jealouſies and diſcontents in the minds of our faithful and loving ſubjects, reſpecting the laws and happy conſtitution of Government, civil and religious, eſtabliſhed in this kingdom; and endeavouring to vilify and to bring into contempt the wiſe and wholeſome proviſions made at the time of the

the glorious Revolution, and ſince ſtrengthened and confirmed by ſubſequent laws for the preſervation and ſecurity of the rights and liberties of our faithful and loving ſubjects: And whereas divers writings have alſo been printed, publiſhed, and induſtriouſly diſperſed, recommending the ſaid wicked and ſeditious publications to the attention of all our faithful and loving ſubjects: And whereas we have alſo reaſon to believe that correſpondencies have been entered into with ſundry perſons in foreign parts, with a view to forward the criminal and wicked purpoſes above mentioned: And whereas the wealth, happineſs and proſperity of this kingdom do, under divine providence, chiefly depend upon a due ſubmiſſion to the laws, a juſt confidence in the integrity and wiſdom of parliament, and a continuance of that zealous attachment to the government and conſtitution of the kingdom, which has ever prevailed in the minds of the people thereof: And whereas there is nothing which we ſo earneſtly deſire as to ſecure the public peace and proſperity, and to preſerve to all our loving ſubjects the full enjoyment of their rights and liberties, both religious and civil: we, therefore being reſolved, as far as in us lies, to repreſs the wicked and ſeditious practices aforeſaid, and to deter all perſons from following ſo pernicious an example, have thought fit, by the advice of our privy council, to iſſue this our royal proclamation, ſolemnly warning all our loving ſubjects, as they tender their own happineſs, and that of their poſterity, to guard againſt all ſuch attempts, which aim at the ſubverſion of all regular government within this kingdom, and which are inconſiſtent with the peace and order of ſociety; and earneſtly exhorting them at all times, and to the utmoſt of their power, to avoid and diſcourage all proceedings, tending to produce riots and tumults; and we do ſtrictly charge and command all our magiſtrates in and throughout our kingdom of Great Britain, that they do make diligent enquiry, in order to diſcover the authors and printers of ſuch wicked and ſeditious writings as aforeſaid, and all others who ſhall diſperſe the ſame: and we do further charge and command all our ſheriffs, juſtices of

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the peace, chief magiſtrates in our cities, boroughs and corporations, and all other our officers and magiſtrates throughout our kingdom of Great Britain, that they do, in their ſeveral and reſpective ſtations, take the moſt immediate and effectual care to ſuppreſs and prevent all riots, tumults and other diſorders, which may be attempted to be raiſed or made by any perſon or perſons, which, on whatever pretext, they may be grounded, are not only contrary to law, but dangerous to the moſt important intereſts of this kingdom: and we do further require and command all and every our magiſtrates aforeſaid, that they do from time to time, tranſmit to one of our principal ſecretaries of ſtate, due and full information of ſuch perſons as ſhall be found offending as aforeſaid, or in any degree aiding or abetting therein; it being our determination for the preſervation of the peace and happineſs of our faithful and loving ſubjects, to carry the laws vigorouſly into execution againſt ſuch offenders as aforeſaid.

"Given at our court at the queen's houſe, the twenty-firſt day of May, one-thouſand-ſeven-hundred-and-ninety-two, in the thirty-ſecond year of our reign.

"GOD ſave the KING." *

About

* Curious as this proclamation is, it is not ſingular:

The following general warrant was iſſued by Chief Juſtice Scroggs—and it is a circumſtance not unworthy of notice, that he was afterwards impeached by the Commons for this, amongſt other reaſons.

"Whereas there are diverſe ill-diſpoſed perſons, who do daily print and publiſh many ſeditious and treaſonable books and pamphlets, endeavouring thereby to diſpoſe the minds of his majeſty's ſubjects to ſedition and rebellion; and alſo infamous libels, reflecting upon particular perſons, to the great ſcandal of his majeſty's government. For ſuppreſſing whereof, his majeſty hath lately iſſued out his royal proclamation; and for the more ſpeedy ſuppreſſing the ſaid ſeditious books, libels, and pamphlets, and to the end that the authors and publiſhers thereof may be brought to their puniſhment:

"Theſe are to will and require you, and in his majeſty's name to charge and command you, and every of you, upon ſight hereof, to be aiding and aſſiſting

About this time (viz. May 24th, 1792,) commenced the patriotic, and on the 6th of June, 1792, the Reformation Society of this town. As theſe were afterwards connected with the Conſtitutional Society, and ſtill more, the objects of

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aſſiſting to Robert Stephens, meſſenger of the preſs, in the ſeizing on all ſuch books and pamphlets as aforeſaid, as he ſhall be informed of, in any bookſeller's or printer's ſhops, or warehouſes, or elſewhere whatſoever, to the end they may be diſpoſed as to law ſhall appertain. Alſo, if you ſhall be informed of the authors, printers, or publiſhers of ſuch books, or pamphlets, as are above mentioned, you are to apprehend them, and have them before one of his majeſty's juſtices of the peace, to be proceeded againſt according to law. Dated this 29th day of November, 1679.

"To Robert Stephens, meſſenger of the preſs, and to all mayors, ſheriffs, bailiffs, conſtables, and all other officers and miniſters, whom theſe may concern.

"WILLIAM SCROGGS"—State Trials, vol. vii. p. 434.

There is alſo a curious paſſage reſpecting a ſimilar proceeding of Charles the 2d in Hume's life of that monarch.—Vol. viii. p. 16.

"Soon after the prorogation, there paſſed an incident which in itſelf is trivial, but tends ſtrongly to mark the genius of the Engliſh government, and of Charles's adminiſtration, during this period. The liberty of the conſtitution, and the variety as well as violence of the parties, had begotten a propenſity for political converſation; and as the coffee-houſes in particular were the ſcenes, where the conduct of the king and the miniſtry was canvaſſed with great freedom, a proclamation was iſſued to ſuppreſs theſe places of rendezvous. Such an act of power, during the former reigns, would have been grounded entirely on the prerogative; and before the acceſſion of the houſe of Stuart, no ſcruple would have been entertained with regard to that exerciſe of authority. But Charles, finding doubts to ariſe upon his proclamation, had recourſe to the judges, who ſupplied him with a chicane, and that too a frivolous one, by which he might juſtify his proceedings. The law which ſettled the exciſe, enacted, that licenſes for retailing liquors might be refuſed to ſuch as could not find ſecurity for payment of the duties. But coffee was not a liquor ſubjected to exciſe; and even this power of refuſing licenſes was very limited, and could not reaſonably be extended beyond the intention of the act. The king, therefore, obſerving the people to be much diſſatisfied, yielded to a petition of the coffee-men, who promiſed for the future to reſtrain all ſeditious diſcourſe in their houſes; and the proclamation was recalled."

virulent abuſe and perſecution, I have given the fundamental reſolutions and declarations of theſe Societies, that the reader may judge how far they deſerved the obloquy and reproaches of the people of Mancheſter or the miniſters of government.*

On

"*Mancheſter, May* 24, 1792.

* "*At a Meeting held at the* WINDMILL, *in* DOLEFIELD.

"Reſolved, firſt, That this Society be denominated the Patriotic Society.

"Second, That the following be our declaration, which ſhall be ſigned by the Preſident and Secretary; publiſhed in all the Mancheſter newſpapers, and ſent to the Conſtitutional Societies in London, Mancheſter, Sheffield, Norwich, Glaſgow, and any other places where ſimilar ſocieties are, or may be, formed.

"DECLARATION.

"The people of this country not being fairly repreſented, the object of this Society is to endeavour to gain by *conſtitutional means* a fair and adequate repreſentation in parliament; and till we have gained this point, we do declare that we will never ceaſe, or relinquiſh our well meant endeavours, and that we are determined to proceed with firmneſs in defence of our own and our country's rights.

"Reformation and not Revolution, as ſome would wiſh to inſinuate, is our object: all ideas of the latter we utterly *diſclaim*, as we *abhor* every thing that bears the ſlighteſt ſemblance to tumult or diſorder. The arms of reaſon are our only weapons, and with thoſe we hope to conquer; thoſe of force may aſſiſt deſpotiſm, but are not neceſſary to the cauſe of truth. Though we pay implicit obedience to the preſent form of government, yet ſtill we have the undeniable right of pointing out our grievances, and of endeavouring by conſtitutional means to get them redreſſed; we do therefore declare:

"I. That as government derives its origin from the people, they ought to be fairly and adequately repreſented in parliament.

"II. That till this is the caſe the people of England cannot be ſaid to enjoy perfect freedom.

"III. That the ſole object of government ought to be the proſperity and happineſs of the people.

"IV. That

On Monday the 4th of June, 1792, *(his Majeſty's birth-day)* a meeting was held in Mancheſter to addreſs the king on the late proclamation. On the Saturday, Sunday, and Monday morning before the meeting, the following addreſs was

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" IV. That the original intention of government was to protect, and not to annihilate the rights of man.—

" The people of this country, eſpecially the middle and lower claſſes, have been kept in the dark with reſpect to the abuſes of government, and have been conſtantly told that they ought not to meddle with the affairs of adminiſtration, becauſe thoſe in office would ever have their intereſt at heart. This mode of arguing, ridiculous as it is, has nevertheleſs had its deſired effect: the people thinking that this was really the caſe have ſhut their eyes to their *own intereſt*, and have deſiſted from making any enquiry; yet, alas! how have they been deceived, during a late rumour that this country would be involved in a war with Ruſſia, the people in general were averſe to it. And in the Houſe of Commons where their ſentiments ought to have been ſpoken, there was a very great majority in favour of the miniſters impolitic meaſure. This will frequently be the caſe till the people of this kingdom are equally repreſented in parliament. As this country owes much of its greatneſs to commerce, the people who have *contributed* the moſt to its preſent grandeur, and who contribute the moſt towards the maintenance of its government, certainly ought to have their ſentiments ſpoken by men of their own chuſing, for as long as placemen, penſioners, and others have it in their power to buy their ſeats in parliament for a few thouſand pounds, the proſperity, happineſs, and liberty of this country will ſtand on a very tottering foundation.

" We muſt confeſs that we have little expectation of any effectual reform being carried into execution by the Houſe of Commons of itſelf, for as *often* as the queſtion of an equal repreſentation in parliament has been agitated, ſo *often* has it been negatived; and ſtill more ſo as ſome of thoſe who formerly pretended to be warm advocates for the meaſure, are now amongſt the moſt violent of its oppoſers.

" We ſee with pleaſure that ſimilar inſtitutions to ours are forming in many towns in this kingdom, and we congratulate our country that men of the firſt rank and abilities have had liberality ſufficient to form themſelves into a ſociety for obtaining a more adequate repreſentation in parliament; and, eſpecially as ſeveral diſtinguiſhed members of the Houſe of Commons are on the liſt of the members of that ſociety, we intreat our fellow-citizens to follow our example, and not let themſelves be any longer deceived by any party of

was diſtributed on the part of the Conſtitutional Society, which will ſufficiently evince their deſire of preſerving the peace and harmony of the town, and their diſinclination to any ſpecies of conteſt but that of fair and free diſcuſſion.

" The

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men, for the miniſtry and oppoſition have generally but one thing in view, which is their own *individual intereſt*; and while Engliſhmen continue to repoſe an implicit confidence in either party, they muſt never expect to obtain an effectual redreſs of their grievances.

" Signed by the order of the Society,

" WILLIAM SPAKEMAN, Preſident.
" SAMUEL TENNANT, Secretary."

" *Manchester, June* 6, 1792.

" At a Meeting held at the Old Boar's Head, Hyde's Croſs, it was reſolved, that this Society be called

" The REFORMATION SOCIETY.

" That the following be our declaration which ſhall be printed in the Manchester papers, and ſent to ſimilar Societies in this kingdom.

" We behold with pleaſure ſocieties forming in different parts of this kingdom, for the purpoſe of obtaining a *Parliamentary Reform*; we beg leave to unite our humble endeavours to theirs, by forming ourſelves into a ſociety, to co-operate with them in ſo excellent an undertaking.

" The ſtudy of civil government ſo important to the happineſs of man, though in itſelf plain and ſimple, has, by the arts of deſpotiſm been wrapt up in darkneſs and obſcurity. If we ſuffer from any thing before we can apply the remedy, it is neceſſary to know the *cauſe*, to point out the ſprings, and to ſhew the height to which it has riſen. The beſt means of pointing out our grievances, and getting them redreſſed, is by having men *choſen* by the *majority of the people*; acting according to the wiſhes of their conſtituents in an *equal repreſentation of the people in parliament*.

" Reſolved,

" I. That the people of Great Britain are *not* fully, fairly and adequately repreſented in parliament—and that the defective ſtate of the repreſentation of this country and the extended duration of parliaments, require a ſpeedy and effectual REFORM, and are objects to which the attention of this ſociety is particularly directed.

" II. That

" The Mancheſter CONSTITUTIONAL SOCIETY, fully ſatisfied that the voice of reaſon is ſeldom heard amidſt tumult and confuſion—that the true friends of the people are alſo the trueſt friends of peaceable demeanour, and patient inveſtigation—that the advocates of a timely and temperate reform in the abuſes of government, require no aſſiſtance but from argument, and that their adverſaries have no reſource but in violence and abuſe, the common refuge of a cauſe that can be no otherwiſe ſupported—*think it their duty* to reply by their actions to the calumnies of their enemies, and to ſtep forward at this moment of public perturbation, in ſupport of peace, and order, and law.

" II. That the happineſs of the people governed, ought to be the ſole end and aim of all civil government.

" III. That every perſon from the higheſt to the loweſt appointed to, and accepting of any office or truſt for the benefit of the community, is *ultimately reſponſible to the people* for the compleat diſcharge of the duties of it.

" We alſo beg leave to thank his Majeſty for his royal proclamation, wherein are the following words: " And whereas there is nothing which we " ſo earneſtly deſire as to ſecure the public peace and proſperity, and to pre- " ſerve to all our loving ſubjects the full enjoyment of their rights and " liberties, both religious and civil."

" We are far from countenancing any thing that leads to anarchy and confuſion. REASON and TRUTH are the only arms that we will unitedly wield againſt thoſe who may oppoſe us, and with them we ſhall in the end prevail. We are willing to bring every thing to the teſt of reaſon, and of truth;—then by their own merits or demerits, they muſt ſtand or fall.

" We renounce and diſclaim all riots and tumults. And we declare that we will, to the utmoſt of our power, at the command of the magiſtrates, aſſiſt in ſuppreſſing and quelling any ſuch which may ariſe.

" Signed by order of the ſociety,

" JOHN ROBERTS, Preſident.
" JOHN CHEETHAM, Secretary."

" Hitherto

"Hitherto the people of England have ſuppoſed the ſtatutes of this realm, duly executed, were ſufficient of themſelves to prevent or to puniſh offences againſt the ſtate, and that if the laws were inadequate to their purpoſe, it was the duty of the legiſlature to remedy the defect. Hitherto the people of England have ſuppoſed that the peaceable diſcuſſion of the errors and abuſes which time may have introduced into the conſtitution under which they live, was not only their privilege, but their right—not merely a matter of expedience, but in juſtice to themſelves and their poſterity, their bounden duty.

"The proclamation, which his Majeſty's miniſters have ſo unadviſedly iſſued, found the people thus happily perſuaded: neither diſtruſting the laws of their country, nor involved in any riotous meetings or tumultuous diſcuſſions. Uſing, but not abuſing their right of inveſtigating the principles of government, and the conduct of their public ſervants, by the peaceable means of reaſon and argument. The true friends of their country have been grieved, to ſee this ſtate of the public mind ſo materially diſturbed by the late Proclamation—the obvious tendency of which is to create alarm where none exiſted before—to ſow the ſeeds of mutual diſcord and ſuſpicion among the people—to excite diſtruſt of the laws, the magiſtrates, and the government of the country—and to give exiſtence to thoſe very "*proceedings tending to produce riot and tumult*," which it profeſſes to guard againſt. Nevertheleſs a public meeting is propoſed to be held in the town of Mancheſter, on Monday next, "to conſider of a proper addreſs to his Majeſty," in conſequence of this very proclamation.

"In the preſent agitated ſtate of the public mind, the impropriety of ſuch a meeting cannot be doubted; and the *obvious tendency*, of a multitude of people, of various and oppoſite ſentiments aſſembling to diſcuſs a public meaſure of a violent nature, and containing the moſt dubious aſſertions, and

and the moſt perſonal alluſions, is too glaring to be miſtaken. By violence and tumult—by intemperate debate and public confuſion, the cauſe of the people muſt inevitably be injured. This is the game for their enemies to play; and there is reaſon to believe the opportunities will be eagerly ſought for.

"The Mancheſter Conſtitutional Society will never relinquiſh their principles, or loſe ſight of an effectual reform in the repreſentation of the people; but they renounce and diſclaim ſuch means of effecting their purpoſe, or promoting their cauſe.—They do therefore moſt earneſtly exhort the Members of their own and ſimilar ſocieties in this town and neighbourhood, and every true friend to the rights of the people, to evince themſelves the true friends alſo of public peace and good order, by abſtaining from the meeting of Monday next; which, however upright the motives of the perſons who have called it, has a direct tendency *at the preſent criſis*, to endanger the harmony and tranquillity of the town and neighbourhood.

"Signed by order, and on the behalf of the
Mancheſter Conſtitutional Society.

"THOMAS WALKER, Preſident.
"SAMUEL JACKSON, Secretary.

"*Mancheſter, June* 2, 1792."

This precaution was but too neceſſary; for in the evening of Monday a conſiderable number of people aſſembled in St. Ann's-Square, in Mancheſter, to ſee ſome illuminations exhibited by two of his Majeſty's tradeſmen, when the croud became very tumultuous, and aſſaulted ſeveral peaceable ſpectators;—they proceeded to tear up ſeveral of the trees growing there, one of which was carried with great triumph to the Diſſenters chapel, near the ſquare, and the gates attempted to be forced open, with violent cries of "Church and King—Down with the Rump—Down with

it, &c. &c." Another tree was carried in the ſame riotous manner, and with the ſame exultations to the Unitarian chapel in Moſley-ſtreet; fortunately, however, the doors withſtood the attacks made upon them, the people were perſuaded gradually to diſperſe, and about one o'clock in the morning the ſtreets became quiet without any further damage.

About this time (June 26th, 1792,) one of the diviſions of the Church and King Club thought fit to ſupport the proclamation of his Majeſty's Miniſters by a declaration of their principles in an Addreſs,* which I have already given in contraſt with the reſolutions of the Conſtitutional Society; and, I apprehend, the reader has not been at a loſs to form a judgement upon theſe two compoſitions.

The meetings that were called, and the reſolutions that were entered into, in almoſt every part of the kingdom at this period, under pretence of ſupporting the conſtitution, are well known. The High Churchmen were not behind hand, on this occaſion, in their profeſſions of loyalty: all the bad paſſions of party were let looſe, and political rancour againſt the friends of *reform*, became a virtue of the firſt magnitude. †

A few

* Page 17.

† This was not unforeſeen by a writer in the Manchester Herald, who thus expreſſes himſelf:

"*Manchester, June* 2, 1792.

"SIR,

"The public have been not a little ſurprized at the appearance of a proclamation, the moſt extraordinary perhaps that the annals of this country has produced, and ſingularly well calculated to produce the alarm which it is apparently meant to allay.

"By hints and inſinuations—by ambiguous expreſſions—by general aſſertions, the aſtoniſhed reader is taught to expect ſome unknown evil, which he attempts in vain to diſcover from the proclamation itſelf. Seditious writings are complained of without being deſcribed; broad hints are given that correſpondencies have been undertaken for criminal purpoſes with ſundry perſons in foreign parts, without

A few months after this proclamation, a tax-gatherer, and ſome other perſons, went round the town of Manchester to all the inn keepers and publicans, adviſing them, as they valued themſelves, to ſuffer no ſocieties ſimilar to

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without the ſlighteſt fact being ſtated upon which this belief is grounded, without any particulars of the ſubject of correſpondence, or the perſons correſponding, or the foreign nations alluded to. It inſinuates attempts at the ſubverſion of all regular government, without venturing to ſpecify any particulars for public information. It directs magiſtrates to depart from the line of their practice to turn informers and tranſmit ſecret accuſations againſt individuals to perſons, before whom the offence is not regularly cognizable.

"In the beginning it aſſerts, that ſeditious writings have been printed, publiſhed, and induſtriouſly diſperſed—afterwards, as if doubting its own aſſertions, it commands magiſtrates to enquire after the authors, printers, and diſperſers of ſuch writings, who, if the former aſſertion be true, ought to be well known already, and if not well known, the aſſertion ought not to have been made.

"But if ſeditious writings have been publiſhed, Why not venture to point them out? If not, Where is the propriety of this proclamation? If illegal correſpondencies have been undertaken, Why not publiſh the fact, produce the proof, and inflict the puniſhment? If none ſuch have taken place, Why make ſo groundleſs an inſinuation?

"In truth this proclamation (which is not the act of his majeſty, who has neither the power nor the inclination to do wrong, but of his miniſters who may have both) is in its whole tenor and compoſition, a direct attack upon the conduct of government. Why permit any occaſion to exiſt for ſuch a proclamation? Why have not theſe writings (if any ſuch there are) been ſuppreſſed, and their authors and publiſhers proceeded againſt according to law? Are the laws ineffectual? Why not amend them?—Are they ſufficient already—Why have they not been inforced? Indeed I am aſtoniſhed that miniſters for their own ſakes will thus publiſh to the world that, having been remiſs in their duty until this time, they will take more care in future.

"I am grieved to ſee the reſpected name of our gracious ſovereign annexed to a publication ſo evidently open to theſe animadverſions; and I hope the adviſers of this indiſcreet meaſure will ſhortly be impeached for promoting a proclamation ſo flagrantly calculated to excite jealouſies and alarms among the people, where none exiſted before. Very different indeed the caſe would have been, if any writings or correſpondencies after being publicly condemned

to ours (the conſtitutional) to meet at their houſes. The publicans thought their licenſes of more value than our cuſtom, and would receive neither the conſtitutional, the patriotic, nor the reformation ſocieties any longer. In thus acting they for the moment probably conſulted their intereſt, but the mode of their doing it, was too deſcriptive of the temper of the high church party at that time * to be omitted.

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by the verdict of a jury as ſeditious and inflammatory, and thus clearly aſcertained and pointed out to the people, were maintained or publiſhed and diſperſed. In that caſe there would have exiſted a ſpecific offence, the object would have been unambiguous, and the proclamation would have acted as a mild and ſalutary caution. At preſent there is room to doubt upon every ſentence of this proclamation; and what is worſe there is alſo room to apply it where it may not have the moſt diſtant alluſion. Involved as it is in darkneſs and ambiguity, dealing in fears without ſpecifying the foundation, and creating ſuſpicions without removing them, each man is tempted to aſk his neighbour, Who are the perſons? Where are the meetings? Which are the writings? The evil ſpirit of criminal conjecture is let looſe upon the public, by authority, to ſtab the reputation of the innocent; and the malignant paſſions of private pique and public prejudice, have now full play and ample gratification.

"But after all, Why this general anxiety among miniſters to ſtop the progreſs of knowledge and cut off the ſources of political information? Why this dread leſt the people (the *Swiniſh Multitude*, as their friend, Mr. Burke, calls them) ſhould think too much and reaſon too much on their own rights and their own intereſts? Leſt the deep veil of myſtery which ſtate-craft has thrown over the ſcience of government, ſhould, perchance, be withdrawn, and the tranſactions of court politics be expoſed to the prying eye of an aſtoniſhed multitude? If the foundations of theſe gaudy ſuperſtructures be unſound, this conduct is eaſily explained: but if government and miniſters do actually mean well, if their principles and conduct will bear examination, why do they ſhrink from enquiry? Why give room to apply the obſervation that "Men love darkneſs rather than light—becauſe their deeds are evil."

"SYDNEY."

"*Manchester, Sept.* 13, 1792.

* "We whoſe names are hereunto ſubſcribed, being licenſed innkeepers and ale-houſekeepers, within the towns of MANCHESTER and SALFORD, *juſtly* alarmed

The Conſtitutional Society having now no regular place of meeting, in conſequence of being thus excluded from public houſes, I offered them the uſe of my houſe at Mancheſter until

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alarmed at the *treaſonable* and *ſeditious* conduct of a *well-known* ſet of daring MISCREANTS, who have called a public meeting to be held on Tueſday next, at the *Bull's Head inn*, in *Mancheſter*, for the *avowed* purpoſe of *aſſiſting* the FRENCH SAVAGES, as well as with a SINCERE DESIRE of *introducing ſimilar calamities* to the *inhabitants* of this HAPPY and PROSPEROUS COUNTRY, as *thoſe* that now *exiſt* in *France*, take this very *neceſſary* opportunity of publiſhing to the towns of MANCHESTER and SALFORD in particular, and to the whole kingdom of GREAT-BRITAIN in general, our *deteſtation* of ſuch *wicked and abominable* PRACTICES.

" And we do hereby ſolemnly declare, that *we will not ſuffer* any meeting to be held in our houſes, of *any* CLUBS *or* SOCIETIES, however *ſpecious or plauſible* their titles may be, that have a tendency to put in force what thoſe INFERNALS ſo *ardently* and *devoutly wiſh for*, namely the DESTUCTION OF THIS COUNTRY; and *we* will be ready on all occaſions, to co-operate with our fellow-townſmen in *bringing to juſtice* all thoſe who ſhall offend in any inſtance, againſt OUR MUCH-ADMIRED AND MOST EXCELLENT CONSTITUTION."

Signed by 186 Inn-keepers and Alehouſe-keepers.

The preceding advertiſement was publiſhed in conſequence of the following propoſal:

" The friends to the liberties of mankind reſident in this town and neighbourhood, are deſired to meet at the Bull's Head, on Tueſday next the 18th inſtant, at three o'clock in the afternoon, to ſet on foot a ſubſcription for the relief of our brethren in France, who are at preſent ſuffering all the calamities of war, in conſequence of a moſt cruel combination of *deſpots*, againſt the dawning liberty of *that* country, and which may eventually be employed, and with the ſame reaſon, to the deſtruction of our own."

Mancheſter, 12th September, 1792.

Another inſtance of the indecent length to which falſehood and calumny were carried, appears in Harrop's Mancheſter Mercury of Tueſday the 13th. of November, 1792. Some perſons had been taken up (in London, I believe,) on a charge of unnatural practices; this circumſtance gave riſe to the following paragraph in the paper laſt mentioned.

until they could accommodate themſelves elſewhere. As I moſtly reſided five miles from Mancheſter, in a houſe which I *then* rented at Barlow;* it cauſed no interruption or inconvenience

" The expoſure of the *Catamites* has given riſe to a comparative enquiry into the characters which compoſe that Society, and the characters which compoſe the *Cataline* Societies that meet in the various parts of this town; when it is clearly found that the latter (many of whom are of the Catamite fraternity alſo) are by far the more dangerous in ſociety. Nature, ever perfect, powerful, and repulſive, will protect her own laws. Her imperative voice calls out, and the univerſal hand is lifted againſt the execrable monſter that inverts her ſacred purpoſes: but the Catalines, whoſe dark and villainous machinations work upon the credulous and weak minds of imperfect men, ſhould become the peculiar objects of national attention and reſentment. It is impoſſible to offend the laws of nature with impunity—thoſe of nations are too often ſubverted without puniſhment. All who love the harmony of order in ſociety—all who venerate the beſt of conſtitutions—all who admire and love the beſt of Sovereigns; in ſhort, every liberal and manly nature ſhould unite in the expoſure and condemnation of thoſe conſpirators who meet in public, and private houſes, and who, diſſatisfied with regular national proſperity and happineſs, would, if poſſible, conſign their country to all the miſeries of public and private anarchy!——"

* This houſe belongs to Mr. Egerton of Tatton, one of the preſent members for Newcaſtle, in Staffordſhire. On the 10th day of January, 1792, Mr. Egerton called upon me, and a converſation, of which the following dialogue is a part, paſſed between us:

Mr. Egerton. I have been very uneaſy, and my uneaſineſs has prevented me from ſooner coming to Barlow.

Mr. Walker. I am ſorry you have had any uneaſineſs, and ſtill more ſo, that it has prevented you from coming here, according to your repeated promiſes.

Mr. Egerton. From the deciſive part which you have taken in public affairs, I have been very much afraid that your houſe would have been pulled down.

Mr. Walker. Sir!

Mr. Egerton. I mean my houſe.

Mr. Walker. I am really at a loſs to know what you mean.

venience to myſelf or my family. The high church party having thus failed of routing the jacobins (as the friends of civil and religious liberty were now termed all over Europe) their animoſity was principally directed againſt me for having furniſhed the place of meeting for the ſociety, to which I belonged. On the 1ſt of December, 1792, his majeſty's miniſters iſſued their ſecond proclamation, and on the 11th, the friends to high church principles in Mancheſter reſolved to follow the example, which ſeems to have been held out at London as a pattern for the whole kingdom by what is called Mr. Reeves's aſſociation. The newſpapers at Mancheſter, particularly Harrop's, had long teemed with inflammatory paragraphs againſt the friends of freedom or *jacobins* as it then was, and ſtill continues to be, the faſhion to call them. Thus in Harrop's paper of December 4th, 1792, juſt a week before the riot, there appeared the following paſſages.

Mr. Egerton. I think it right to be explicit, and to ſay that I have been very apprehenſive from the part you have taken, that my houſe would have been pulled down. *In fact, I know, it was intended to pull your houſes down.*

Mr. Walker. To me you appear much miſtaken, for I think the people begin to know better than to treat their real friends in the manner you ſeem to inſinuate. But, as I think you right in being explicit, and as I admire plain dealing, I will follow your example, and tell you that if you expect, I ſhould regulate my opinions by yours, you will be very much miſtaken. The part I have taken I have not adopted without mature deliberation, and without being perfectly convinced it is right. I will, not therefore, ſuffer any man to dictate to me.

Mr. Egerton. I do not expect it, but my property is in danger.

Mr. Walker. Whilſt I live in your houſe I ſhall not permit it eaſily to be pulled down, as independently of my property I have a very great ſtake in it, my wife and ſix children.

Mr. Egerton. Sir, property is every thing to me,—

" The

" The metropolis * of Great-Britain having ſo decidedly " given its opinion in reſpect to the conduct of thoſe level- " ling ſocieties which would pull down the glorious fabrick " of the conſtitution, no doubt can be entertained that " every corporate body and every town, county, and bo- " rough in the kingdom will follow ſo laudable an example; " and thus at once cruſh thoſe inſidious vipers who would " poiſon the minds of the people, level all diſtinctions and " *all property*, † and make one general wreck of the happineſs " of the empire."

" The

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* Alluding to the reſolutions of the Common-Council of the City of London, upon the 27th and the 29th of November, 1792. Signed, Rix. Sanderſon, Mayor.

† The word Equality has been of great uſe to the High Church party, who have not failed to ſeize every opportunity of *wilfully perverting* it from the ſenſe in which the defenders of Liberty and Equality have conſtantly uſed it. In Mancheſter the conſtant miſrepreſentation of our principles on this ſubject, induced the friends to Freedom to publiſh and diſperſe the following hand-bill, firſt printed I believe at Liverpool.

" EQUALITY.

" The perverſe ſenſe impoſed on the word EQUALITY, by the folly or the fears of ſome of our countrymen, is as dangerous as it is abſurd; and they may probably ſee the day, when they may repent of having infuſed into the minds of the people a notion, that the EQUALITY to be contended for is an *Equality* of *wealth* and *poſſeſſions*. If by continually repeating this idea, the *uninformed*, or as they are now *arrogantly ſtyled*, the SWINISH MULTITUDE, ſhould take it into their heads, that they are juſtified in *inforcing* ſuch a ſyſtem, the conſequences will reſt on thoſe, who by a perverſion of terms, have wickedly or fooliſhly propagated ſo dangerous a doctrine. The equality inſiſted on by the friends of Reform is AN EQUALITY OF RIGHTS, or, in other words, that every perſon may be *equally* intitled to the protection and benefits of ſociety; may *equally* have a voice in the election of thoſe perſons who make the laws by which he is affected in his liberty, his life, or his property; and may have a fair opportunity of exerting to advantage any talents he may poſſeſs. The rule is not " *Let all mankind be perpetually equal*"—God and nature have forbidden it. But " *Let all mankind ſtart fair in the Race of life.*" The *inequality* derived from labour and ſucceſsful

" The following remark made in a very modern publi-
" cation on the " Happineſs and Rights of Man," is levelled
" with

ceſsful enterprize, the reſult of ſuperior induſtry and good fortune, is an *inequality eſſential to the very exiſtence of Society*; and it naturally follows, that the property ſo acquired, ſhould paſs *from a father to his children*. To render property inſecure would deſtroy all motives to exertion, and tear up public happineſs by the roots. Such are the truths acknowledged and avowed by the Reformers of the preſent day, and Where, but in the wild workings of a diſordered imagination, do their enemies find the dangerous doctrines with which they daily alarm the public? Are they acknowledged by the government of America? Are they to be diſcovered in the code of the French nation? Have they been avowed by ANY CONSTITUTIONAL SOCIETY in this kingdom? Or, Are there any traces of ſuch doctrines in the WORKS OF ANY MODERN REFORMER?—Again, Are the Reformers of the preſent day leſs intereſted than their abuſers in the proſperity of their country? Are Mr. GREY and his NUMEROUS coadjutors men without property? Let the oppoſers of Reform come forward and anſwer theſe queſtions—Or let us hear no more of LEVELLERS and LEVELLING SYSTEMS; nor let an odium be thrown on GREAT AND UNCHANGEABLE TRUTHS from the *wilful perverſion* of a *WORD*."

The Reformation Society alſo repeatedly publiſhed the following reſolutions:

" REFORMATION SOCIETY.

" The Mancheſter Reformation Society, finding that the meaning of the word Equality has been much miſrepreſented by their enemies, (who have aſſerted that the people wanted an equal Partition of Property) and this Society being chiefly compoſed of manufacturers, mechanics and labourers, who have been principally accuſed of wiſhing to divide the property of their neighbours amongſt them, think it their duty, as men, to ſtep forward, and flatly to deny this falſe accuſation: they do therefore unanimouſly declare,

" I. That what they want is Equality of Rights, and not of Property.

" II. That by the word Equality, they underſtand, that a man (let him be ever ſo poor, provided he is a good citizen,) has as juſt a claim to an equal Partition of Rights, Liberties and Privileges, as the richeſt.

" III. That the idea of *Equally* dividing Property is abſurd and ridiculous, for was property *equal* one hour, it would be impoſſible to prevent its being *unequal* the next.

" IV. That

" with ſo much truth and juſtice againſt that *affectation and* " *villainy* which characterize ſome deſperate promoters of " revolutions, as to deſerve the approbation of all who are " not yet completely blinded by their miſchievous anarchi- " cal doctrines. As for thoſe who, with premeditation, " preach up the equalizing principles, without believing " them to be juſt, and merely to anſwer their own private " purpoſes, they can only be ranked with that claſs of men, " whoſe crimes call loudly for a *Gibbet*."

The minds of the people were thus inceſſantly irritated, and the poorer claſs gradually prepared for the ſcenes that were to follow. In this ſame week (on Dec. 7th) a meeting was held in Salford, (the town immediately adjoining to and connected with Mancheſter) to addreſs his Majeſty upon the laſt proclamation: at this meeting the ſame Harrop *

" IV. That every Government which gives Rights and Privileges to vicious people, becauſe they are opulent, and lets poor deſerving merit ſtarve and ſink into oblivion, is not adapted to preſerve the happineſs and welfare of the people. A Government ſo conſtructed is conſequently bad, and ought to be reſo med.

" V. That as all men come into the world alike, and go out alike; the ſun ariſes upon all, and the rain falls equally on all; we wiſh to ſee the *ſlave* riſe to the dignified character of man, and let the moſt haughty tyrant *know* that he is but a man.

" VI. That we ſhould not have thought it neceſſery to declare our ſentiments on this occaſion to the public, had not our enemies (thoſe contemptible Apoſtates, who formerly pretended to be the friends of Liberty and Equality, but whoſe tongues have been tyed by a long liſt of places and penſions) miſ-interpreted our meanings, and thereby attempted to make us appear, in the eyes of the world, as men who ought not to be truſted.

" Signed, by order of the Society,

" SAMUEL TENNANT, Secretary."

* I do not know whether Joſeph Harrop, the father, or James Harrop, his ſon, is the proprietor of the Mancheſter Mercury; but the fact is, that it belongs to one or both of them; one of them is, likewiſe, a diſtributor of ſtamps under Government, and was lately appointed to the lucrative office of Poſtmaſter of the town of Mancheſter.

who

who owned and conducted the paper, in which were inserted the preceding paragraphs, presided; when the following resolutions were passed, in which the same calumnious accusation was kept up:

" *Court House, Salford, December* 7, 1792.

" At the most numerous meeting ever remembered on any former occasion, of the inhabitants of this town, convened by public advertisement, the following resolutions were unanimously agreed to:

" JOSEPH HARROP, Boroughreeve, Chairman.

" That sensible of the many blessings we enjoy, under the mild and auspicious reign of our most gracious Sovereign, and wishing to hand down our glorious Constitution, unimpaired, to the latest posterity, as good and loyal subjects, we cannot behold, without the utmost horror and detestation, the attempts of a set of daring and seditious men; who, under the specious pretence of reformation, wish to introduce a system of anarchy and confusion, similar to that experienced in a neighbouring nation, and tending to destroy every religious and civil establishment in this country.

" That it is the duty of all good subjects, to promote and maintain, both by their example and influence, the efficacy of the laws, and the interests of public peace and tranquillity.

" That it highly becomes the friends of our happy Constitution, at all times, but more especially at the present crisis, to employ their best efforts to suppress all seditious meetings, and to discountenance and prevent the propagation of all seditious and treasonable publications; and be ready to *cooperate* with Government, in adopting such measures, as may be thought expedient for the security of the state, and the preservation of peace and good order.

" That an association be immediately formed, by the present meeting, the more effectually to promote the important ends

above-mentioned: and that the concurrence of all the loyal and well-diſpoſed inhabitants of this townſhip, be earneſtly requeſted.

" That a Committee be immediately appointed, to carry the reſolutions of this meeting into effect; who will be ready to confer and correſpond with ſuch aſſociations as may be eſtabliſhed for ſimilar purpoſes, which have no other object in view but the PUBLIC GOOD.

" JOSEPH HARROP, Boroughreeve."

Not contented with this meeting at Salford, another was now called, for the ſame purpoſe, at the Bull's Head Inn, in Mancheſter, for the 11th of the ſame month. Previous thereto, a Member of the Mancheſter Conſtitutional Society penned, and, with the concurrence of ſome of his friends, printed an Addreſs containing the following, amongſt other obſervations: *

" WAR!

" Such appears to be the determination of the Britiſh Court, by their voluntary, unrequeſted interference in Dutch politics; by the proclamation offering bounties to Seamen, and by the ſudden equipment of ſhips of the line. With ſuch hoſtile preparations, the *internal* tranquillity of the country, can have no connection.

" On Tueſday next, the 11th of December, a meeting is to be holden of the inhabitants of this town, for the purpoſe of preparing a dutiful and loyal addreſs to his Majeſty, on his late proclamation. Three proclamations have been iſſued; the one to prohibit political diſcuſſion, another to embody a few of the militia, and a third offering *Bounties to Seamen*.

* This is the ſubſtance of the paper alluded to in the Second Report from the Committee of Secrecy of the Houſe of Commons, in the proceedings of the Society for Conſtitutional Information in London. See Appendix C. of that report, 14th and 21ſt of December.

" By ſuch addreſſes, Government evidently means to feel the pulſe of the people; and if it can procure theſe loyal and dutiful approbations of our preſent happy Conſtitution of perjured electors, and penſioned repreſentatives—of *five* millions of tythes, and *twenty* millions of taxes—it may ſafely conclude, that no abſurdity can be too groſs for the people to ſwallow, and no burthens too heavy for them to bear.

" Inhabitants of Manchester! pauſe a while on behalf of your own intereſts, and conſider what claſs of ye can be benefited by WAR.

" Will funded property become more valuable? Will landed property be increaſed by it? Will it diminiſh the exciſe, or the land tax, or the houſe tax, or the window tax, or the commutation tax, or any of the long, long catalogue of taxes, which lie ſo heavy upon this devoted country?

" Will the home trade be encreaſed by War? By war, which will add to theſe numerous taxes—which will enhance the price of all the neceſſaries of life—and which will leſſen the conſumption of manufactures of every kind.

" Will the exporter benefit by war, which will encreaſe the riſk of exportation—the price of inſurance—and the prime coſt of almoſt every material? By war, which will delay the execution of foreign orders, by depriving our merchants of their ſeamen—and put in jeopardy the moſt material part of our trade?

" Have we forgotten our ſtreets filled with untenanted houſes, during the greateſt part of the American war? What a war occaſioned then, a war may again occaſion; and again the proſperity of the country may be put upon the caſt of a die.

" A war with France, (which ſeems at preſent meditated,) will deprive us of the French, the Dutch, the Auſtrian and

the German markets: for, all theſe nations will be engaged in it. Our Eaſt and our Weſt India poſſeſſions will again be in danger, for ſooner or later they muſt be involved in the conteſt. And as the French aſſiſted the Americans to obtain *their* freedom, the latter may think it right to return the compliment. And thus may the ignorance and bigotry of *Church and King Politics*, deprive us at a ſtroke of every market for our manufactures which the world affords.

"Suppoſe for a moment that the rich and opulent manufacturer can ſupport this—What will the little maker, the country dealer, ſay to ſuch a criſis of affairs? who has no credit to give; whoſe profits maintain his family but from hand to mouth; and who with difficulty procures the neceſſary ſupply of caſh for his weavers at home.

"And, What will the Weaver ſay to this? who already finds his wages fallen, his reeds called in, and employment ſcarce. Should a war be the conſequence of theſe time ſerving addreſſes, where is employment to be found? and how are the families of the poor to be maintained? If a decent ſubſiſtence cannot even now be obtained but with unwearied labour and painful exertion, what is to be done when employment ceaſes, when wages are ſunk, and proviſions riſe?—Look to it, ye loyal addreſſers, ye hood-winked politicians——for ſhould your courtly effuſions be the ſtalking horſe for intended hoſtilities, to you, and to you alone, the ſtarving people will have a right to look for ſubſiſtence.

"Ye numerous ſpeculators in building land, in Mancheſter, and its vicinity, are ye advocates for War? how much per yard will it add to the value of your property? how much will it diminiſh the price of building? what additions will it make to the number of ſub-purchaſers? or how will the covenants you, or they may have engaged in, be more advantageouſly fulfilled, under the preſſure of this national calamity?

" What will the induſtrious tribe of brickſellers and timber merchants—of brickmakers and bricklayers, and carpenters and joiners, and ſmiths, and plumbers, and workmen employed in building, of all denominations, ſay to this fatal meaſure? To the projected multitude of new buildings, they have reaſonably looked for conſtant employment and comfortable ſubſiſtence. Should war be the conſequence of your loyalty, what will they do?—Or where are they to go?

" The POOR have ſeldom time to attend to theſe public meetings; they are ſeldom permitted to come to them, they ſeldom underſtand the purport of them, or foreſee the effect of them upon their own intereſt. As therefore they are not likely to attend for themſelves, it will become your duty to think at leaſt for a moment, what is to become of them.

" Ye know, or ye ought to know, that juſtice is never to be obtained without expence, and that the poor cannot afford it. Ye know, or ye ought to know, that various laws, like the game laws, and the combination laws, are expreſsly made againſt the Poor—that *they* are liable to be torn from their families by the violence of the preſs-gang, while the rich and the luxurious repoſe in peace upon their beds of down.

" Headlong promoters of ſelf-deſtruction, look round upon the habitations of miſery, and pauſe for a few moments on the conſequence of your proceedings, to the wretched poſſeſſors of them!

" Ye well know, (or ye ought to know) that the preſent politics of every court in Europe, lean to *War with the French?* —Ye are appriſed of the hoſtile preparations making in *this* kingdom, and can ye be blind to the purpoſe of them?—— Again, conſider, if a war *ſhould* happen, what will become of the poor, or whoſe property will be ſafe?

" You

"You are now forewarned—the conſequences are with yourſelves, and the blood upon your own heads. The Friends of the People hear with pity, and bear with patience the hourly calumnies to which they are expoſed. They entertain, however, no perſonal enmities, no averſion but to the enemies of the people, and no diſreſpect of the Conſtitution, but where it has become hoſtile to the rights of the people.

"Would ye do good by your meeting, addreſs his Majeſty that he would be graciouſly pleaſed to remove from his Councils all Miniſters hoſtile to the peace of the country, and take ſuch meaſures as are moſt effectual to prevent the dangers of impending War.*

"*December* 10, 1792. "SYDNEY."

The writer of the above was Thomas Cooper, to whoſe character I feel myſelf unable to do juſtice. I, for many years, enjoyed his friendſhip. He was truly a man, whoſe time and whoſe labours were ever at the command of the injured and the unfortunate; whoſe talents and whoſe learning, which were very conſiderable, were uniformly devoted to the great intereſts of mankind.

The forewarnings of my friend had, however, no effect. The meeting which was called for the 11th, was held about twelve o'clock of the ſame day. Soon after it broke up, I was informed that there prevailed a *report of a riot that was to take place in the evening*, but looking upon it as an idle report, I paid no attention to it. Soon after dark I was informed, that the people were encouraged and irritated, by various perſons, to raiſe violent outcries againſt the *Jacobins* and Preſbyterians. Theſe, I ſhould obſerve, are convertible

* It is much to be lamented, that this maſterly Addreſs was not equally fortunate with the Manchester RESOLUTIONS on the intended War with Ruſſia, in April 1791, ſo as to have aſſiſted in preventing the calamities inſeparable from our preſent meaſures.

terms

terms amongſt the Tories of Lancaſhire, and ſeveral other counties of England; they call Diſſenters of all denominations Preſbyterians. This went on for about two hours, when the people were, by liquor and other means, ſufficiently inflamed for any miſchievous undertaking. Every thing now ſeemed to wear the appearance of a preconcerted ſcheme. The ſame contrivances were uſed as at a conteſted election. Parties were collected in different public houſes, and from thence paraded the ſtreets with a fidler before them, and carrying a board, on which was painted CHURCH *and* KING, in large letters. In the Market-place, at Manchester, reſided the Printers of the two Newſpapers before mentioned; the one a Miniſterial paper, called the Manchester Mercury, printed by Harrop, the other one of a different deſcription, the Manchester Herald, printed by Falkner and Birch, now driven to America. * Theſe were each of them Bookſellers and Stationers ſhops, where people reſorted for news in much the ſame manner as is the cuſtom in London. In the former ſhop, and in the newſpaper there publiſhed, the friends of freedom were the ſubject of conſtant abuſe, under the uſual appellations of Jacobins, Levellers, &c. while in the latter ſhop, and in the Manchester Herald, more liberal ſentiments prevailed.

About ſeven o'clock in the evening, the mob collected before the laſt mentioned Bookſellers, and attacked the ſhop and houſe with ſtones and brick bats, till the windows were almoſt entirely deſtroyed and beat in at the front of the building.

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* The ſale of this paper became ſo extenſive, and the information it contained ſo important, that, in the then temper of the times, it was not likely to paſs long unnoticed. Previous to the departure of theſe worthy, but unfortunate men, to America, there were five ex officio informations and ſix indictments againſt each of them, at the ſuit of the Crown. As the purſe of the Treaſury is more than a match for that of an individual, whoſe riches conſiſt in his labour, and who, from the intolerable expence, would be ſure to fail in the conteſt, they preferred a voluntary exile to impriſonment.

During

During this time many perſons of reſpectable ſituations in Mancheſter, expreſſed their diſlike of theſe proceedings, and endeavoured to intereſt thoſe, whoſe duty it was to ſuppreſs them. But this, ſo far from having its proper effect, produced nothing but encouragement to the mob. One of the perſons applied to was a Deputy Conſtable* of the name of Unite (then in Harrop's ſhop) who anſwered, "They are loyal ſubjects, let them alone; it is good to frighten theſe people;" or words to that effect. Afterwards he went to the mob, and clapping ſome of them on the back, he ſaid, "Good lads, good lads;" and perceiving ſome beadles preſent attempting to do their duty, he ſaid to them, "Come away, damn the houſe, don't come near it." A Gentleman remarked, in the hearing of a Reverend Magiſtrate, not then in the execution of his duty, "What ſcandalous work this is!" "Not at all, Sir," replied the other; "and if I was called upon, I would not act againſt them." One of the ſpecial Conſtables was heard to ſay, in another part of the town, "I'll give you a guinea for every one of the Jacobins houſes you pull down!"

Meſſrs. Falkner and Birch expecting their houſe would be pulled down, ſent one of their friends, Mr. Allen Jackſon, to the ſenior Conſtable, deſiring his protection. His anſwer was, "Unite has orders how to act:"—The Conſtable explained this by ſaying, that he had deſired Unite to get together as many perſons as he could to oppoſe any riot, ſhould there be one, and that he could do no more.—Mr. Jackſon, however, diſſatisfied with this anſwer, was going away; but ſeveral perſons came out of the parlour, who, after they had learnt Mr. Jackſon's buſineſs, treated him with inſult. One of them cried, "Kick him out of doors;" another, "They have brought matters to this, let them take the conſequence." Mr. Jackſon, finding no proſpect of juſtice amongſt theſe Gentlemen, returned to Meſſrs. Falkner's and Birch's, and informed them of what had paſſed.

* A Conſtable who is principally employed by the Borough-reeve and the two chief Conſtables.

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This, however, was not the only application to the proper peace officers, as will appear by the declaration hereafter given, which together with the two following letters will give a better account of the proceedings of the mob at Mr. Falkner's, and till they came to my houſe, than I can. They were ſent voluntarily by the writers.

Mr. FALKNER, *Manchester, Dec.* 13, 1792.

SIR,

"Though I differ from you in political and religious ſentiments, I wiſh always to be found an advocate for truth and juſtice. I ſhall, therefore, ſtate to you (and to the public, if you ſhould think proper to publiſh it,) what I know and what I am ready to atteſt upon oath if required, concerning the riot that happened at your door on Tueſday night laſt. Being down in the Market-place, a little after dark, I obſerved a number of men of the loweſt order, crying out moſt violently, "Church and King,—Damn Tom Paine," &c. and every now and then "Huzza! huzza!" but they were then ſo weak even in numbers, that little was to be apprehended from them, ſo I left them and went into an adjoining public houſe.

"While I was there I heard the noiſe ſtill increaſe, and ſaid to ſome gentlemen preſent, I am afraid miſchief will be done this night.

"A gentleman (a ſtaunch friend to the king and conſtitution as any man in Mancheſter,) went immediately to Mr. Harrop's, and in his ſhop he found the Deputy-conſtable, Unite, to whom he ſaid, Why don't you go and quell yon mob at Falkner's door? Depend upon it, there will be ſome miſchief done, and though I am no friend either to him or his principles, yet I would not have his property hurt. The deputy's anſwer was, Oh! let them alone, they are loyal ſubjects, let them frighten him a bit!! When he came into the houſe and told us what had paſſed, adding that the mob

was then breaking Falkner's windows, I went out amongſt the people, and told ſome of them on the outſide (for I did not go into the middle of them) that I would take the firſt man into cuſtody that I ſaw throw a ſtone at the windows, be he who he would (for I heard the craſh of the glaſs, but ſaw no one individual throwing.) I went round to the other ſide of the mob and ſtood againſt your ſhop window to make obſervations, and whilſt I ſtood there the two beadles of the town came up to me; I ſaid to them, What are you about that you don't do your duty?—Their anſwer was—we don't know what we have to do. Seeing two men knocking violently at your door with one hand, and with the other waving their hats and ſhouting, I obſerved the deputy conſtable (Unite) go up to them, and tapping them on the ſhoulder, I heard him diſtinctly ſay—*Good lads, good lads!* and turning to a tall gentleman preſent, he ſaid (ſmiling) I can keep them quiet by giving them good words! then turning towards me I ſpoke to him, but he gave me no anſwer; but ſeeing the beadles ſtanding beſide me near the window, he ſaid to them with an angry tone, loud enough to be heard by me as well as the mob—come away from the houſe! d—n his houſe don't come near it! After they were gone, reflecting on the perilous ſituation in which I ſtood, and ſeeing no perſon diſpoſed to ſecond me in an attempt to reduce them to peace and good order, I left the place and went home, determined to give you and the public an impartial account of what I had ſeen and heard. Let them take the ſhame to whom it belongs. I am not afraid nor aſhamed to ſubſcribe myſelf, &c. &c."

"SIR,

"Being drawn by my buſineſs to Mancheſter laſt Tueſday, I had for the firſt time an opportunity of ſeeing (in great part) the riſe, and too much of the brutal progreſs of an ignorant mob. My previous knowledge of mobs being entirely conjectural, I had always conceived them to be compoſed of men unprincipled, unlettered, and deſtitute of property: but

but experience makes men wiſe. The firſt of theſe qualities will unequivocally apply, but the two latter (though true in part) will by no means admit of an univerſal application. I had demonſtrative evidence that a mob conſiſts of two parts, viz. the managers and the actors; or it may be compared to a puppet-ſhow, which expoſes to view and urges to action the ſenſeleſs images, while the crafty agents lurk behind the ſcene! I had previouſly thought, likewiſe, that *plunder* was generally the ſole object for which mobs accumulated and operated. But I now know with certainty that blind party zeal and perſonal hatred may be extremely influential in a riot!

" The unthinking and imprudent part of the populace having got plenty of liquor, which qualified them to execute the meditated miſchief of their malicious prompters, they ſoon aſſembled in the ſtreet before Mr. Falkner's ſhop; their number increaſed, as alſo that of the ſpectators; evening came on, and no material oppoſition being offered by the civil officers, they evidently conſtrued this into a tacit invitation to the commiſſion of unreſtrained depredations. I followed them ſeveral hours, and was aſtoniſhed to ſee them go on in their mad career from hour to hour *uninterrupted*, when I ſincerely believe, half a dozen reſolute men were ſufficient to have diſperſed them; and I am of opinion, that the rioters would have diſperſed themſelves a long time before they did, had they not been repeatedly reanimated by perſons of *reſpectable appearance*, who went among them whenever they ſeemed to droop, and applauded and cheered them, ſometimes with whiſpers, ſometimes with " Church and King for ever, lads, down with the Rump," &c. &c.

" I was an eye and ear witneſs to theſe things.—The mob confined their attention principally to the deſtruction of Mr. Walker's and Mr. Falkner's houſes; I was in St. Mary's church-yard when the rioters came to Mr. Walker's the fourth time: they had broken many windows before, and now

began to break the windows again, and attempt to force open the door with uncommon fury. Mr. Walker informed them he would fire upon them if they did not deſiſt; they treated his admonition with the utmoſt contempt; he then fired over their heads: upon which a few from the ſkirts of the mob diſperſed; but the bulk of them after a very ſhort pauſe, finding they were not fired at, nor injured, miſconſtrued Mr. Walker's lenity, and fell upon the houſe with increaſed fury, when Mr. Walker, or they who were in the houſe with him fired again. The mob then retreated to ſome diſtance, and no miſchief was done afterwards.—A neighbouring magiſtrate, Mr. Bentley, came ſoon after the firing and harangued the rioters upon the impropriety of treating a fellow citizen in ſuch an illegal manner, who, he ſaid, had been ſo great a friend to the town and trade of Mancheſter. His voice was ſoon ſtifled with "Down with the Rump," &c. &c.—I then followed the rioters to Mr. Falkner's where I ſaw a continuation of their former madneſs and brutality. Some peaceable citizens exclaimed againſt the impropriety and illegality of ſuch proceedings, and often thereby endangered their own lives. I chanced to ſay, that ſuch behaviour was very unfair; when one of them ſaid Mr. Falkner's houſe ought to be pulled down to the ground, and damned them who did not think ſo too, and told me further, that he would knock me down that moment if he knew me to be of the ſame way of thinking with Mr. Falkner!—The mob diſperſed between one and two, as near as I can judge, on Wedneſday morning, and if I may be allowed to give my judgement on the circumſtances, it might with little trouble have been diſperſed at ſix o'clock the preceding evening!"

"DECLARATION *of*——

"Says, he recollects, the riots at the houſes of Falkner and Birch, and of Mr. Walker upon the 11th of December, 1792. Says, that being intimately acquainted with Mr. Birch, he went

went on the evening of the firſt riot with an intent to aſſiſt Falkner and Birch in defending their ſhop: Says, he ſaw the Reverend Mr. Juſtice Griffith among the mob, a quiet ſpectator of the riot: Says, he ran to fetch Mr. Birch that they might apply to Griffith to read the riot act: Says, on their return they could not find Griffith: Says, they went to Griffiths' houſe for the like purpoſe and were told that Griffith was not within: Says, that he and Birch then went to Mr. Bentleys' (a magiſtrate in Newton-lane) about a mile from Mancheſter to deſire he would come and read the riot act: Says, Mr. Bentley at firſt objected on account of the number of magiſtrates who were in Mancheſter, and ſaid he was going to bed; but he ſoon afterwards conſented to come with them: Says, Mr. Bentley, Mr. Birch, and this examinant went to the houſe of Mr. Nath. Milne, the clerk of Mr. Bentley, and to ſeveral other magiſtrates, the clerk to the police of the town of Mancheſter and a coroner for the county: Says, Mr. Milne told this examinant and Birch, that it was a ſcandalous, ſhameful, abominable buſineſs, to call out a magiſtrate on ſuch a trifling piece of buſineſs as the breaking a few windows: That he and a party of conſtables had juſt been at Falkner's and Birch's ſhop, and all was very quiet: That there were only a few windows broken by a few *chance* ſtones: Says, on his telling Milne, that the Birmingham riots began in the ſame manner, Milne ſaid, "they (the conſtables) could keep the town quiet without a magiſtrate:" Says, he told Milne that one of the conſtables, had been called upon in the afternoon ſeveral times to inform him, that there was likely to be a riot, and when Mr. Allen Jackſon had called upon the Conſtable in the evening to ſuppreſs the riots, he was threatened by ſome of the company there to be kicked out of doors: Says, Mr. Milne, ſaid, he wondered how this examinant dared to ſpeak ill of an officer of the town, and upon this examinant ſaying, he thought he had a right to ſpeak the truth, Milne ſaid—"Get out of my houſe."—Says he went out of Milne's houſe, and Birch ſoon followed him, leaving Mr. Bentley at Mr. Milne's.

Milne's. Says, this examinant, and Birch, went to Falkner and Birch's ſhop, and found the mob pelting the windows with ſtones as hard as they could: Says, he called at Mr. Walker's houſe and found a number of perſons aſſembled with a few firelocks to defend the houſe againſt the mob: Says he ſtaid only a few minutes: Says, about eleven o'clock at night he went home: the mob was not then diſperſed; but there were he thought a ſufficient number of perſons to defend Falkner and Birch's ſhop: Says, the evening following he went to Mr. Walker's houſe, another riot being apprehended: Says, one of the chief conſtables was there and ſaid if Mr. Walker would promiſe not to uſe fire arms, he would protect Mr. Walker's and Mr. Falkner's houſes and property: Says, that he, this examinant, immediately adviſed Mr. Walker not to truſt to the conſtables, for they had not given their aſſiſtance when applied to on the preceding evening: the Conſtable ſaid, he had ſome company, and intimated that they had drank a little. Mr. Walker deſired this examinant to ſay no more. Walker ſaid, "the Conſtable was convinced of his error—he is ſorry for it, we can depend upon him to-night."—Says, in his opinion, the civil power prevented a riot on this evening the 12th of December, 1792."

During this time (about ſeven o'clock) a party of the mob came to my houſe, and having broken ſome windows, they went away. Expecting their return, which afterwards happened, and having been informed of the treatment that Mr. Allen Jackſon had met with, I determined to defend myſelf. A gentleman from the country had dined with me; the Conſtitutional Society, on whoſe account all this miſchief ſeems to have been prepared, had met at my houſe that evening, and fortunately, for the *firſt* time, ſeveral members of the Patriotic and Reformation ſocieties were likewiſe there. Foreſeeing the danger I was expoſed to, theſe gentlemen very kindly agreed to aſſiſt me in defending my houſe

houſe and warehouſes, in which my brother and I had manufactured goods and unwrought materials to a very large amount. I then ſet about preparing my arms, and I was ſoon free from any apprehenſion of what might follow, even though I ſhould be left unprotected by the civil power.

However little I might expect from its aſſiſtance, I was determined to give notice that I wiſhed for the interference of its authority; and, therefore, prevailed on Mr. George Wakefield to go to the ſenior conſtable, and to repreſent to him what was going forward. Mr. Wakefield took the market place in his way, the better to judge of the riot. When Mr. Wakefield got to the conſtable's he met with the ſame party, and, in ſome degree, with the ſame treatment as Mr. Allen Jackſon. Mr. Wakefield received the ſame anſwer, namely, "Unite had orders how to act." One of the company inſiſted there was no riot; and another ſaid, upon Mr. Wakefield's repreſenting what had taken place at Falkner's, "I wiſh to God they would raze the houſe to the ground, although it is my own." Upon this, Mr. Wakefield returned to me, and from his information I was convinced, that to prevent the ſcenes of Birmingham from being repeated in Mancheſter, and to ſave our houſes from being burnt and plundered, it was neceſſary to look for ſafety to ourſelves alone.

The mob ſoon returned a ſecond time to my houſe, broke ſome more windows and retreated. The ſame happened a third time; when I attempted to expoſtulate with them, but in vain. The clamour was too loud for me to be heard. During theſe attacks, which took up ſome time, none of the town magiſtrates came to my aſſiſtance, neither the Boroughreeve nor the two chief conſtables, nor the ſpecial conſtables, conſiſting as I have ſtated of near two hundred. We were left to ourſelves, juſt in the ſame manner as Doctor Prieſtley, Mr. Ruſſel, Mr. Humphries, &c. &c. were at Birmingham. A regiment of dragoons was in the town: they got booted and under arms, both officers and men; and, as I am informed, were ready to diſperſe the rioters, but no meaſure was taken

of

of that or any other kind. About ten o'clock the mob returned to my houſe the fourth time. Their rancour was now much increaſed by additional encouragement and liquor (which was given to them at ſeveral places in the town) and not being moleſted in their proceedings by perſons in authority, it was natural for them to regard it as a tacit approbation of their conduct. Fearing leſt ſome of my friends might be too haſty, I locked up all the arms I had, giving the key of the room they were placed in to a gentleman, on whoſe coolneſs I could depend. While the mob kept at a diſtance and contented themſelves with deſtroying my windows, I was under no apprehenſion from their drunken fury. But, at laſt, they ſhewed a reſolution of entering the houſe, breaking the inner ſhutters of a room on the ground floor, and attempting repeatedly to force the ſtreet door. I tried a ſecond time to pacify them, but all was to no purpoſe; at laſt, a ſtone ſtruck me on the head: I then fired into the air. Upon this they retreated a little, but afterwards they returned to the attack. Several muſkets were then fired over their heads, upon which they all ran away: whether any perſons were hurt I have not been able to aſcertain; I hope, and believe, not, as the induſtry of our enemies would not have failed, in that caſe, to have made their names public.

About eleven o'clock, when all was quiet at my houſe, one of the chief conſtables, Mr. Joſeph Hardman, with ſeveral ſpecial conſtables, appeared for the firſt time; ſome of the mob again returned. In company with Mr. Hardman was Mr. Bentley, the neighbouring magiſtrate, already mentioned. I reproached theſe Gentlmen with what I conſidered as moſt negligent conduct, at leaſt, when our manufactures and warehouſes were in danger of being deſtroyed, and the lives of ourſelves and families left to the mercy of an unruly mob, juſt as the caſe was at Birmingham. The gentlemen anſwered but little to this expoſtulation, but were extremely anxious we ſhould fire no more. They ſaid, that if the mob ſhould return again (that was a *fifth* time) to my houſe, I ſhould be protected by the civil power. I aſſured them, that

ſo long as that ſhould be the caſe, nothing was farther from my thoughts than to hurt any one of the multitude, whom I could not help conſidering, as being the mere inſtruments of men with much baſer minds, and of much more ſordid views, although in ſuperior ſtations of life. With this promiſe on my part, the magiſtrate and Mr. Joſeph Hardman went away; and during that night I was moleſted no more. The next morning (December 12th) ſome hundreds of people aſſembled in St. Mary's church-yard before my houſe. Amongſt them was a man haranguing, and reading the contents of a printed paper. What it was I did not hear, nor, could I collect the purport of his ſpeech; but I have ſince repeatedly been told, that he urged them ſtrongly to pull down my houſe,* or to ſet it on fire; and that the paper was of a moſt inflammatory nature.

Not having any dread of an Engliſh mob, when they are ſober, as theſe people then ſeemed to be, I went out to them, and expoſtulated on the proceedings of the laſt night. When I firſt went out, I was received with the cry of "Jacobin, damn the Jacobins, damn Tom Paine, down with the Rump," but after a ſhort addreſs to them on the impropriety of their conduct on the preceding evening, and a declaration, that I ſhould, under the ſame circumſtances, defend my houſe in the ſame manner again, if it was again attacked, I went away with little exclamation on their part, and no moleſtation. About two hours after this, the two chief conſtables, with ſeveral of the inhabitants, came to my houſe, and repeated the propoſal made by the magiſtrate upon the preceding evening.

In the evening of this day, (Dec. 12th) a large party of people collected in the ſtreets, and there was ſome reaſon to apprehend a repetition of the former outrages. Several of my friends, therefore, ſtaid with me. Thoſe who came to me upon ſuch an occaſion, were not likely to be much attached

* Compare this with the converſation in the note, p. 44.

to High-Church principles. During the courſe of the evening, one of the moſt reſpectable characters of the town of Mancheſter came to me, as from authority, and told me, that, among the perſons in my houſe, were ſome very obnoxious to the populace; and that, while they ſtaid with me, it was impoſſible to anſwer for the ſafety of my houſe and warehouſes; but, if they were diſmiſſed, I might be aſſured the peace-officers would be able to protect me. The ſuggeſtion of turning out of my houſe any of thoſe friends, who, from perſonal regard to me, and at a perſonal riſque to themſelves, had come to aſſiſt in my protection, I did not comply with.

As from the preparations I had made for ſelf-defence, the rioters were in much more danger, than myſelf, the evening (notwithſtanding the multitudes of people who aſſembled with their uſual cries of, "Church and King," &c.) paſſed off without any attack upon my premiſes; and the civil power prevented the mob from approaching my houſe. But, they went into other quarters of the town, where the ſame precautions, which I had taken, were not uſed; and they deſtroyed, without interruption, the windows and furniture of a houſe in Great Newton-ſtreet, (William Gorſe's) where the Reformation Society had been accuſtomed to aſſemble. On the 12th and 13th appeared the two advertiſements inſerted in the note, * which, I cannot help thinking, furniſh matter for doubt and reflection upon the contents, and the motives of them.

"*Committee Room, Bull's-Head, Dec.* 12, 1792.

* "Whereas, at a meeting of the inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood of Mancheſter, aſſembled by public advertiſement *yeſterday*, for the purpoſe of preſenting an addreſs to his Majeſty, in conſequence of his late gracious Proclamation, it was *unanimouſly agreed*, that an Aſſociation ſhould be formed for the purpoſe of *preſerving Liberty, Order, and Property*, when a Committee was appointed; which Committee, having aſſembled at the Bull's Head this morning, declare that the firſt object of this aſſociation is to ſupport the Laws, to protect the inhabitants of this country from every kind of violence—to diſcourage,

them. Upon occaſion of theſe riots I thought fit to publiſh the following addreſs, which produced the correſpondence ſubſequently inſerted:

"*To the* INHABITANTS *of* MANCHESTER.

"I have for a long time regarded the various calumnies ſo induſtriouſly circulated againſt me by the enemies of Liberty with the contempt they deſerved. As they never diſturbed my

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courage, by every means in their power, any attempt to break in upon the good order of ſociety: Such Committee, therefore, take the earlieſt opportunity of *declaring* the concern they feel, that any perſons ſhould have been induced, by any motive whatever, to attempt to commit violence againſt the perſon or property of ſome of their townſmen, as they underſtand was the caſe laſt night, and they are determined to ſupport the *Boroughreeve and Conſtables*, in preventing any ſuch attempts *in future*; they, therefore, *invite* all their fellow townſmen to unite in promoting ſo laudable a deſign, and to exert themſelves in preventing every meeting of others, that is likely to produce riot and diſorder.

"They think it neceſſary, alſo, to inform the public, that any damage done to the property of others, muſt be paid by the Hundred, to which every individual muſt contribute his ſhare. The perſons of individuals are EQUALLY protected by the Laws, and they THANK GOD, that by the happy form of our Government, no man is, or can be, puniſhed for any crime, unleſs he is convicted by a Jury of his countrymen."

This advertiſement was ſigned by the Boroughreeve and Conſtables, and ſeveral of the principal inhabitants of the town. It is ſingular, 1ſt, that they are reſolved to prevent ſuch attempts *in future*; and ſecondly, that on the very night when the aſſociation for the protection of LIBERTY, ORDER, AND PROPERTY was formed, my houſe, Mr. Falkner's, and Mr. Collier's, ſhould be moſt riotouſly attacked; and, on the ſubſequent night, when this advertiſement was iſſued, William Gorſe's houſe was attacked, and his property deſtroyed.

"MANCHESTER ASSOCIATION COMMITTEE, for preſerving the Peace and good Order of the Town, aſſembled at the Bull's Head, Thurſday, Dec. 13, 1792.

"RESOLVED,

"That the thanks of this meeting be given to the gentlemen of this town, and particularly the ſpecial conſtables, who gave their aſſiſtance laſt night in preſerving

my peace of mind, I never thought it worth while to trouble my friends or the public with a refutation of them. But, ſince the violent and unjuſtifiable attacks upon my perſon and my property, to which I have been expoſed for ſome days paſt, it has become abſolutely neceſſary to make ſome appeal to the public on my own behalf.

"I purpoſely omit (at leaſt for the preſent) the many circumſtances preceding the attempt upon my houſe on Tueſday evening laſt, except, that I and all my friends, (ſo far as I know) for the ſake of peace, purpoſely abſented ourſelves from the meeting held that day to addreſs upon the late Proclamations. But having ſuſtained the fury of the mob in three ſeveral attacks—having had the greateſt part of the windows in front of my houſe broken—and an inſide ſhutter on the ground floor forced by a ſtone—having ſpoken to the people, and diſcharged a muſquetoon, in the air, to warn them againſt perſevering in a fourth attack, which they had then commenced with increaſed violence—having, during the whole of this long continued ſcene of confuſion, heard nothing from the Civil Power, but a verbal meſſage, (by means of a friend whom I ſent) that directions had been given to the Deputy Conſtable——there remained no other poſſible means of preventing the rioters from forcing themſelves into my dwelling, but to fire. This was done from a perfect

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ſerving the peace of the town; to the inhabitants in general for their peaceable behaviour; and to thoſe few, who had collected from motives of curioſity, for their readineſs to diſperſe, upon being applied to for that purpoſe.

"AND THIS MEETING REQUEST, That every friend to the town will ſhew his deſire to ſupport the laws, and preſerve good order, by bringing forward to the conſtables any perſon, who ſhall endeavour to excite tumult.

"NATHAN CROMPTON, Chairman for the Day."

The perſons thus thanked for their peaceable behaviour ſurely are not the mob, who would have pulled my *houſe* down, and who *did* deſtroy William Goſe's!

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conviction of the *neceſſity* of the meaſure; and however harſh the remedy, it proved effectual on the occaſion.—Three or four perſons, I have been told, were ſlightly hurt, but I cannot hear certainly whether it be ſo or not.

"This was *paſt* ten o'clock at night. *After* this diſcharge of fire arms, a Magiſtrate and ſome of the Conſtables came to my houſe, and took much pains to diſperſe the rioters; and on their engaging to protect my perſon and property, I engaged to fire no more, unleſs in conſequence of their being unable to perform their promiſe, and on the preſſure of the moſt imminent neceſſity. This promiſe I faithfully obſerved. Since Tueſday night, I and my family have been kept in conſtant anxiety, and at my preſent writing (Thurſday evening) ſome danger is yet apprehended. Much, indeed, I ſhould have undergone, but for the vigilance, ſpirit, and warm attachment of my numerous friends both within my houſe and out of it, to whom I owe much more than it is poſſible for me to expreſs.

"For myſelf, and for the cauſe of the people, I thank God, that no charge of riot, or tumult, or diſaffection, or ſedition, has ever yet been made with the ſlighteſt plea of reaſon, againſt thoſe, whom I have the honour to call my Friends—the Friends of the People: otherwiſe, I doubt not, moſt eagerly would the pretext have been ſeized.

"Why, then, have I been inſulted?—Whom have I injured, or what offence have I committed? What concealment has there been in any part of my public conduct? If there be *no* charge againſt me, why have I been thus attacked?

"If it be a crime to endeavour to enlighten the minds of the People reſpecting their juſt rights, I have been guilty of this crime, and to the end of my days I ſhall live in the commiſſion of it.

"I

" Is it a crime to glory in the title of being the Friend of the POOR? I am guilty of it, for I do, and ſhall, ever glory in a title ſo reſpectable.

" Is it a crime to wiſh the more indigent members of ſociety eaſed from ſome of the numerous taxes, which they pay in the purchaſe of every neceſſary of life? To wiſh them better lodged, and better fed, and *better inſtructed?* I am guilty of theſe crimes.

" Is it a crime to wiſh the Britiſh Conſtitution reſtored to its original purity, and the whole Syſtem of Repreſentation freed from Perjury and Corruption?—Of this too I am guilty.

" Of every good wiſh to mankind and to my country—I am guilty. If the laws of the land have been violated by my conduct, let me be puniſhed ACCORDING TO LAW; but let not the character of the Britiſh Nation be ſtained by the baſe and illiberal perſecution of one of its moſt ſincere well-wiſhers.

" THOMAS WALKER."

" *Mancheſter, 13th Dec.* 1792."

" SHEFFIELD SOCIETY FOR CONSTITUTIONAL
" INFORMATION, &c.

" *Committee Meeting, Jan.* 11, 1793.

" Reſolved unanimouſly, that the Letter of Condolence tranſmitted from this Committee to Mr. Thomas Walker, of Mancheſter, on the occaſion of the late violent attack on his perſon and property, and which received the approbation of all the different Diſtricts of this Society, at their laſt fortnight meetings, together with his anſwer thereto, be inſerted in the public newſpapers.

" DAVID MARTIN, Chairman."

" *Committee*

" *Committee Meeting, Dec.* 19, 1792.

" Impreſſed with unfeigned ſorrow, and actuated by the moſt affectionate eſteem and reſpect, this Committee think it their duty at this time to expreſs their ſentiments of condolence to Mr. Thomas Walker, of Mancheſter, on an occaſion when the Laws of their country—when Liberty and Juſtice have been rudely violated, in the wanton and unprovoked attack made by a lawleſs banditti on his perſon and property, on Tueſday evening the 11th inſtant.

" It is not only for their patriotic brother, and friend (whoſe only offence has been a ſteady attachment to the cauſe of freedom) that they feel the ſenſations of ſorrow and regret: they feel alſo for their country—their liberties—and they feel for their dark and deluded countrymen, whom they believe to be the tools of an arbitrary faction, intent on the deſtruction of thoſe who dare boldly and openly avow themſelves the firm advocates of Civil and Religious Liberty.

" The Committee requeſt Mr. Walker to accept this as a tribute of their applauſe and approbation, ſentiments which they are convinced prevail throughout the whole body of their ſociety, of his intrepid and manly perſeverance in defence of the glorious cauſe of Freedom, and the inſulted Rights of Engliſhmen.

" They alſo beg leave to aſſure Mr. Walker, that though they regret the diſagreeable neceſſity of his firing on the rioters, yet they perfectly approve and juſtify his conduct on the doctrine of ſelf-defence.

" By order of the Committee,

" MATTHEW DODWORTH, Chairman.
" JAMES HORSFIELD, Secretary.

" To Mr. Thomas Walker, Mancheſter."

MR.

MR. WALKER's ANSWER.

" *Friends and Fellow Citizens,*

" I have received with the moſt heart-felt ſatisfaction your affectionate condolence on the late outrageous and unprovoked attack upon my perſon and my property, by a deluded, ignorant, and lawleſs banditti, inſtigated and encouraged, I have great reaſon to believe, by thoſe who ſhould have known better. No little pains have been taken to repreſent the late outrages, as a conſequence of the general diſapprobation of the conduct and proceedings of the advocates for a Reform in the preſent inadequate ſtate of the Repreſentation of the People; but this, I am very confident, is by no means the fact. The people, if not warm advocates for Reform, are decided enemies to that levelling ſyſtem of anarchy and confuſion, which was commenced againſt Mr. Falkner and myſelf, and which, had it ſucceeded, I am equally convinced, was intended to have been carried into execution againſt the Friends of Freedom generally.

" To whatever lengths it might have been the intention of the mob to have proceeded, the friends of Deſpotiſm have little cauſe for exultation, if in ſuch a cauſe it is poſſible to exult, when they reflect upon the paucity of their numbers compared with the population of this town and neighbourhood.

" How ſtriking is the contraſt between the conduct of the Enemies of Freedom in Mancheſter, and the Friends of Liberty in Sheffield!

" Had I fired at a much earlier period than I did, I ſhould have been perfectly juſtifiable; but at the time I was compelled to have recourſe to that ſevere remedy, I applied it to intimidate the rioters, and not either to maim or to kill;

looking upon the miſguided multitude, not as my enemies, but as wretched tools, in the hands of a more wretched and moſt unprincipled faction.

" Of this be aſſured, that unleſs the people ceaſe to entertain a proper ſenſe of their own intereſt, no trial to which it is poſſible for a man to be expoſed, ſhall ever make me relax my efforts to promote the proſperity of my country, and the happineſs of the human race.

" In the firm perſuaſion that truth will prevail, believe me,

" Friends and Fellow Citizens,

" Moſt ſincerely and moſt affectionately,

" Yours,

" THOMAS WALKER."

" *Mancheſter, Dec.* 25, 1792.

" To the Sheffield Conſtitutional Society, &c.

Copy of a Letter addreſſed to Mr. Walker, by the Boroughreeve and Conſtables, through the Channel of the three Mancheſter Newſpapers.

" Mancheſter, Jan. 25, 1793.

" MR. THOMAS WALKER,

" *Sir,*

" Your Letter of the 25th December, 1792, addreſſed to the Sheffield Society for Conſtitutional Information, having appeared in all the Mancheſter newſpapers of laſt week, We, *(as Boroughreeve and Conſtables of the town of Mancheſter, and ſolicitous for the diſcovery and puniſhment of all inſtigators of riot, diſorder, and faction,)* conceive ourſelves entitled to ſome explanations on the following paſſages of ſuch letter.

" The lawleſs banditti, as I have great reaſon to believe, " inſtigated and encouraged by thoſe who ſhould have " known better."

How, and by whom were they inſtigated and encouraged?

" And if it had ſucceeded, I am convinced it was *intended* " to have been carried into execution againſt the friends of " reform in general."

" This *intention*, of which *you are convinced*, is manifeſtly aſcribed to thoſe who ſhould have known better.—The public have a right to know, and we aſk, what is the exiſting evidence of ſuch intention?

" Looking upon the miſguided multitude, not as my " enemies, but as wretched tools in the hands of a more " wretched and moſt unprincipled Faction," &c.

" Of whom does this Faction conſiſt? For the honour of thoſe who are not implicated in the indiſcriminate charges of your Letter, and for the ſake of public juſtice, we truſt the preceding Queries will be ſatisfactorily anſwered.

" Signed

" JAMES ACKERS, *Boroughreeve.*
" JOHN LEAF,
" JOSEPH HARDMAN, } *Conſtables.*"

Mr. WALKER'S ANSWER.

" MR. JAMES ACKERS, *Boroughreeve.*
" MR. JOHN LEAF,
AND
" MR. JOSEPH HARDMAN, } *Conſtables.*

" *Gentlemen,*

" I ſincerely hope that you did not perceive the very improper tendency of your joint letter to me; and that the public

public is rather to think it inconſiderate, than deſigning.—"*Solicitous for the diſcovery and puniſhment of all inſtigators of riot, diſorder, and faction;*" your preſent exertion is only calculated to obſtruct the injured, and to warn the guilty; to baffle enquiry, and to interrupt the purſuit of that evidence, which, I thank God, the negligence of malice, however cautious and cunning, will enable me to obtain.—As men in official ſituations, you ought to know, that it is neither cuſtomary nor legal; as gentlemen you ought to ſee, that it is neither fair, nor honourable, to call upon a man to produce what evidence he poſſeſſes againſt the inſtigators of a riot; the object of which was the deſtruction of his property, and of his life, before his friends and his counſel have judged it expedient to produce that evidence either at the bar of the public, or before a jury of his country.

"I am truly glad to underſtand, that you are "*ſolicitous for* "*the diſcovery and puniſhment of all inſtigators of riot, diſorder,* "*and faction,*" becauſe I am ſatisfied no gentlemen can have better means of information. It would, indeed, have been as well, if this ſolicitude had appeared in an earlier ſtage of this ſerious buſineſs; and it remains with you to ſtate to the public, how it has happened that the Boroughreeve and Conſtables of Mancheſter, "*ſolicitous for the diſcovery and* "*puniſhment of all inſtigators of riot, diſorder, and faction,*" have not taken *one ſingle* rioter into cuſtody, when it is notorious that many perſons tumultuouſly aſſembled together three ſucceſſive nights, and committed acts of outrage upon each of thoſe nights, by attacking the houſes either of Matthew Falkner, William Gorſe, Joſeph Collier, or myſelf.

"It will not be eaſy, gentlemen, to compenſate for your ſupineneſs, where it was your duty to be active, by your officiouſneſs, where it is your duty to be quiet; nor can you now, by harraſſing me in my endeavours to obtain juſtice, atone for your former lenity towards the diſturbers of the public peace.

" Denying your right to put interrogatories to me in any manner whatever, I ſhall not give you " the exiſting evidence" upon which my conviction was founded, that if the *levelling* ſyſtem of anarchy and confuſion commenced againſt Mr. Falkner and myſelf had ſucceeded, it was intended to have been carried into execution againſt the Friends of Reform in general; but for the ſatisfaction of the public, I ſhall prove I was not ſingular in that opinion, by giving the extract of a letter from a man, highly reſpectable for his abilities, his property, and his integrity; and in juſtice to myſelf, I may alſo add, that I have received many other letters from various parts of the kingdom to the ſame purport, and from men of the above deſcription.—The extract to which I allude is as follows—

" Though I have but a moment's time, I cannot addreſs you without expreſſing my concern for the unmerited anxiety you have lately been put to, by the bigotry and very blameable conduct of ſome of your townſmen—but in truth they need my ſympathy more than you do, as your proper, ſpirited and commendable behaviour, under the circumſtances you were in, muſt be a ſatisfaction to all your friends, and deſerves the thanks of both parties; of the friends of liberty for the prevention of a wide ſpreading miſchief that might probably otherwiſe have befallen them; and of the offending party, for putting an early ſtop to enormities that would for ever have diſgraced them."

" You aſk—" of whom does that faction conſiſt," which I have reprobated as wretched and unprincipled, " for the " honour of thoſe who are not implicated in the charge?"—I will freely tell you of whom it does *not* conſiſt. It does *not* conſiſt of the honeſt, the generous, or the brave; of the liberal, or the well-informed; it does *not* conſiſt—of thoſe who abhor perſecution, rancour, and malignity; it does *not* conſiſt—of men who are incapable of writing and propagating anonymous ſlander, or of encouraging ſpies and informers. Having

now

now done with you, gentlemen, I ſhall embrace the opportunity which you have afforded me, of addreſſing myſelf

"TO THE PEOPLE,

"Requeſting their attention to the preſent intereſting, and truly critical ſituation of public affairs, and recommending to them to examine coolly and impartially, the writings, but above all the *actions* of thoſe, who lay claim to the title of their friends, and who are on that account branded with every epithet that miſrepreſentation and the fouleſt ſlander can invent. I ſhall requeſt them to examine with that ſerioufneſs which the ſubject demands, whether in the conduct of the Friends of Freedom, either here or elſewhere, there is any thing which is not directed to promote the proſperity of this country, and the happineſs of mankind.

"*Firſt, with reſpect to a Parliamentary Reform,*

"The neceſſity of which is ſo obvious, and the advantages, which would reſult from its attainment ſo ſelf-evident, that I ſhall confine myſelf to the explanation of my meaning upon this very important ſubject.

"By a Parliamentary Reform, I mean a RADICAL and EFFECTUAL REFORM in the Repreſentation of the PEOPLE; that obtained, I for one ſhall be ſatisfied, nor have I any further views, nor any deſign, as has been falſely and induſtriouſly inſinuated, to attempt to alter or to deſtroy the Conſtitution of this Country; my ſole object, and that of every man with whom I have the honour to think, to act—and to correſpond upon this great object, is not to *innovate*, but to *renovate*, and to reſtore the Conſtitution to its ANCIENT PURITY.

"*Secondly, with reſpect to the Liberty of the Preſs,*

"The preſervation of which is ſo eſſential to our very exiſtence as a free People, that I ſhould have conceived it impoſſible

impoſſible that any man, or ſet of men, would have been weak enough, or wicked enough, to have made any ſerious attack upon ſo ſacred a right at the cloſe of the 18th century. However, it is with pleaſure far greater than I can expreſs, that I ſee a ſtandard erected for its preſervation by men the moſt diſtinguiſhed for integrity, ability, and property in this country; a ſtandard, which I am confident every diſintereſted and unprejudiced man will eagerly fly to, and around which, even the timid and the cautious may with the utmoſt ſafety rally. Annexed is an extract from the declaration agreed upon at a Meeting of the Friends of the Liberty of the Preſs, which was held upon Saturday the 19th inſtant, at the Crown and Anchor in London.*

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* "The preſs, therefore, as it is to be affected by Aſſociations of individuals, that fetter its general freedom, wholly unconnected with any attacks upon private character, is a very different conſideration. For if the nation is to be combined to ſuppreſs writings without further deſcribing what thoſe writings are, than by the general denomination ſeditious; and if the exertions of thoſe combinations are not even to be confined to ſuppreſs and puniſh the circulation of books already condemned by the judgments of courts, but are to extend to whatever does not happen to fall in with their private judgments—if every writing is to be proſecuted which they may not have the ſenſe to underſtand, or the virtue to practice—if no man is to write but upon their principles, nor can read with ſafety, except what they have written, leſt he ſhould accidentally talk of what he has read—no man will venture either to write or to ſpeak upon the topics of government or its adminiſtration; a freedom which has ever been acknowledged by our greateſt Stateſmen and Lawyers to be the principal ſafeguard of that conſtitution which liberty of thought originally created, and which a free preſs for its circulation gradually brought to maturity.

"We will, therefore, maintain and aſſert, by all legal means, the ſacred and eſſential privilege of every other parent and guardian. We will maintain and aſſert the right of inſtructing our fellow-ſubjects by every ſincere and conſcientious communication which may promote the public happineſs, and while we render obedience to government and to law, we will remember at the ſame time, that as they exiſt by the people's conſent, and for the people's benefit, they have a right to examine their principles, to watch over their due execution, and to preſerve the beautiful ſtructure of their Conſtitution,

by

" The declaration and proceedings of that day are what every man ought to read; and to engrave deeply upon his heart the principles there ſo manfully and ſo ably inculcated.

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by pointing out as they ariſe, thoſe defects and corruptions, which the hand of time never fails to ſpread over the wiſeſt of human inſtitutions.

" If in the legal and peaceable aſſertion of this freedom we ſhall be calumniated and perſecuted, we muſt be contented to ſuffer in the cauſe of freedom as our fathers before us have ſuffered. But we will, like our fathers alſo, perſevere until we prevail.

" Let us however recollect with ſatisfaction, that the law, as it ſtands at this very moment, thanks to our illuſtrious patriot Mr. FOX, is amply ſufficient for the protection of the Preſs, if the country will be but true to itſelf. The extent of the genuine Liberty of the Preſs, on general ſubjects, and the boundaries which ſeparate them from licentiouſneſs, the Engliſh law has wiſely not attempted to define. They are indeed in their nature undefinable, and it is the office of the jury alone, taken from the country, in each particular inſtance to aſcertain them, and the truſt of the Crown where no individual is ſlandered, to ſelect the inſtances for trial, by its Miniſters reſponſible to Parliament.

" This ſyſtem appears to us amply to ſecure the government, while it protects the ſubject. But if this ſelection is to be transferred to ſelf-conſtituted aſſemblies of men, agitated and inflamed by a zeal, however honeſt, the preſs muſt be broken up, and individuals muſt purchaſe their ſafety by ignorance and ſilence. In ſuch a ſtate, we admit that the other liberties which we enjoy under the laws, might, nevertheleſs, continue as long as government might happen to be juſtly adminiſtered; but ſhould corruption or ambition ever direct their efforts againſt them, the nation would be ſurprized and enſlaved—ſurpriſed by the loſs of their wakeful ſentinels, whom they had ſhot for only being at their poſts, and enſlaved from the loſs of their armour, which their adverſary, under the pretence of a treaty, had cajoled them to throw away.

" But theſe evils become not only greater, but abſolutely intolerable, when extended to the ſtimulation of ſpies, to ſtab domeſtic peace, to watch for the innocent in the hours devoted to convivial happineſs, and to diſturb the ſweet repoſe of private life, on the boſom of friendſhip and truth.

" It

" The Friends of Freedom have always proved themſelves the enemies of anarchy and confuſion, and I am confident they are too well informed and too well diſpoſed ever to act contrary to their principles. At the ſame time, they will do well never to loſe ſight of that *union, perſeverance,* and FIRMNESS which are eſſential to inſure ſucceſs even to the cauſe of truth itſelf. " It is into the heart and ſpirit of man you muſt look for reformation, elſe all is vague and uſeleſs."

" It may not be improper here to remark upon the preſent uncertainty of what in this country may now be deemed " ſeditious." REEVES and his aſſociations may perhaps deem that to be ſeditious, which our fellow citizens in Scotland and in Ireland would conſider as the pureſt patriotiſm—and it is poſſible that a man might be indicted in England, for an act, which in Ireland, the virtuous citizens of that country would highly approve, nay even for the very act which at this moment is ſanctioned by the Iriſh Legiſlature itſelf.

" *Thirdly, with reſpect to War,*

" What has been the conduct of the friends of Freedom, in every part of the Britiſh empire, upon this impending calamity? What, but to point out the evils inſeparable from war, and to endeavour to avert as far as in them lay, an

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" It is juſtly obſerved, by the celebrated Judge Forſter, that words are tranſitory and fleeting, eaſily forgotten, and ſubject to miſtaken interpretation.

" Their very exiſtence at all, and their criminality, as depending upon context, or ſequel, or occaſion, all is to reſt upon the oaths of hired informers.

" Is this in the end of the 18th century, to be the condition of our chearful country? Are theſe to be our chains? And are we, after we have broken them on the heads of Tyrants, in former ages, to ſit down to forge them again for ourſelves, and to faſten them upon one another?"

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event which cannot but be particularly injurious to the trade and commerce of this country, and fatal to the property, to the happineſs, and to the lives of many thouſands of their fellow creatures? What intereſt have they, diſtinct from the pooreſt of their fellow citizens?

"Is it a crime to rejoice in the emancipation of ſo many millions of the human race from the yoke of the moſt degrading ſlavery?—Is it probable that ſo great a good could be obtained without ſome exceſſes being committed? But in return, Is it not right to conſider—whether thoſe evils which *juſtice* muſt condemn, and which *humanity muſt* deplore, did not ariſe more from the *oppoſition to the good*, than from the purſuit of it?

"Having now concluded all I have to obſerve at this time, I ſhall for the preſent take leave of the public, with that reſpect which I have always profeſſed for them, and which I truſt I have always ſhewn; and ſhall only add, that to their opinion, when *fairly* and *impartially* taken, I ſhall always ſubmit; and [doing violence for a moment even to poſſibility] ſuppoſing that the *majority* ſhould ever become advocates for the *ſlaviſh* doctrines of *divine right, paſſive obedience and non-reſiſtance*; I ſhould upon my own principles, not oppoſe their WILL. But if the people of Great-Britain are, what I take them to be, the *true* deſcendants of their illuſtrious anceſtors, no hazard of my perſon or of my property ſhall ever deter me from ſupporting to the utmoſt of my abilities, *the* RIGHTS *of the People.*

"THOMAS WALKER.

"*Mancheſter, Jan.* 31, 1793."

"TO THE PUBLIC.

"Mr. Walker's Letter, in the Mancheſter Herald of the 2d inſtant, which he calls a Reply to our Queries of the 25th January laſt, upon the ſubject of his unexplained *Imputations*

in a former Letter, has neceſſarily obliged us to trouble the public with the following Obſervations.

" Whatever may be the opinion of Mr. Walker or his Counſel, we (" for the ſake of public Juſtice") ſhould be equally " thankful *if the charges complained of were fully ſubſtantiated* by that Evidence which the negligence of malice, however cunning and cautious, might enable Mr. Walker to obtain.—

" But after aſſertions in the ſhape of facts, highly, yet indiſcriminately impeaching the inhabitants of this Town, unaccompanied by any intimation of legal proceedings, and even without any previous *Information to the Civil Officers* (who have no means of obtaining *it*, except from Mr. Walker, whoſe baſe Inſinuations they deſpiſe) are *induſtriouſly* publiſhed to the world, we have yet to learn that it is *illegal*, unfair, or diſhonourable in ſuch officers to call upon the publiſher, to point out thoſe peſts of ſociety, againſt whom his accuſations are intended, that they may have their deſerts, and the public injury be repaired through the *only legal mode* of a criminal proſecution—On the contrary, our ſilence at this moment muſt have been a crime not to be atoned for.

" The *aſſumed candour* and patriotiſm of Mr. Walker led us to expect the moſt unequivocal and ſatisfactory explanations; but ſhrinking from this duty, he turns again to the malevolence of accuſation, and reprehends our conduct in the late unfortunate tumult.

" It is unneceſſary to tell the public, becauſe they know the fact, whether it was by the vigilance, activity, prudence, and perſeverance of the Peace Officers, *under the immediate direction of the Magiſtrates*, or by the violent proweſs of Mr. Walker, *(who fired* upon the people WITH SLUGS,* *not to maim or kill, but merely to intimidate)* that the diſorder at length happily ſubſided.

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* This is falſe.

" Mr.

"Mr. Walker, or his Counſel, cannot doubt *any man's right*, as well as that of a Peace Officer, to *apprehend* offenders when in the actual commiſſion of outrage.

"The ſtate of the perſons aſſembled (in a town of extreme population) did not, however, in common prudence, warrant ſuch a proceeding, but the more lenient and efficacious one adopted—otherwiſe Mr. Walker's "numerous friends without" would certainly have exerciſed *this right of apprehenſion*.—

"The reply to our ſecond Query is an evaſion unworthy the liberal and well informed. He (Mr. Walker) denies the Right of putting Interrogatories—refuſes the exiſting *Evidence* of his *Conviction*, and in an inſtant ſtumbles upon the Truth, by *changing* the importance of *Conviction* into a mere unfounded *Opinion*, which, by the way, he is anxious to free from ſingularity, by an extract of a Letter—but when, by whom, and (which is infinitely more material) upon *whoſe* and *what Repreſentation of Facts* this Letter was written, the public muſt be kept entirely ignorant.—

"Is this conſiſtent with the profeſſions of an *ingenuous* patriotic man, *whoſe Actions are* always *open* and undiſguiſed, *and who aſſerts nothing without proof?*

"As an Anſwer to the third Query, viz. Of whom does this Faction conſiſt? We are told "it does not conſiſt of the honeſt, "the generous, or the brave, of the liberal, or the well-informed; "it does not conſiſt of thoſe who abhor Perſecution, *Rancour*, "and *Malignity*, nor of men who are incapable of writing and "propagating anonymous Slander, or of encouraging Spies "and Informers."—

"Do theſe *Negatives* amount to any diſcriminative Intelligence, or are they not *unbluſhingly* intended as additional Inſults to the Honour and Juſtice of the People?—They are

 indeed

indeed Truiſms not to be controverted; for in this mighty collection of Words, nothing more is literally expreſſed *(whatever may be the intent)* than that a good man is not a bad man, or vice verſa.

" Mr. Walker may exult in the uſe of ſuch paltry Subterfuges *(as the happy iſſue of a Week's Preparation)* to elude the moſt plain and proper Queſtions, but the Public *(and not Mr. Walker)* are now to decide, under all the Circumſtances, whether thoſe Queſtions ought not to have been fully and fairly anſwered, and whether our Meaſures deſerve their Cenſure, or Approbation.

" Leaving this Gentleman to his favourite Aberrations from the point in queſtion, by every *modeſt Aſſumption* of popular Friendſhip and unbounded Patriotiſm, and alſo to *his Monopoly* in the Diſcernment and Guardianſhip of the *eſſential* Rights of the People, we muſt apologize to the Public for this involuntary Engagement of their Attention, with the *firmeſt Determination* however of troubling *them no more* upon any thing which the *inventive Faculty* of Mr. Walker can poſſibly inſinuate, or produce.

" In the fulleſt confidence that *Truth will prevail*,

" We are the Public's moſt faithful,

" Reſpectful and obedient Servants,

" JAMES ACKERS, Boroughreeve,
" JOHN LEAF,
" JOSEPH HARDMAN, } Conſtables, } of *Mancheſter*.

Mancheſter, 4th *February*, 1793."

" *Salford*,

Salford, February 8, 1793.

" JAMES ACKERS, Eſq; Boroughreeve.
" Mr. JOHN LEAF, } Conſtables.
" Mr. JOSEPH HARDMAN, }

" *Gentlemen,*

" The public requiſition you have made to Mr. Thomas Walker, for an explanation on certain paſſages contained in his Anſwer to a Letter of Condolence from a Society (calling themſelves the Conſtitutional Society) at Sheffield : Your juſt, manly and ſpirited Rejoinder to his vague, illuſive and ridiculous Reply to ſuch Requiſition, juſtly entitles you to the warmeſt applauſe of every inhabitant.

" At a Meeting of the Conſtitutional Aſſociation for protecting Liberty and Property from Republicans and Levellers, eſtabliſhed at the Crown and Cuſhion, in Salford, held this day,

" It was unanimouſly reſolved,

" That the Thanks of this Aſſociation be preſented to you, for your zeal and attention to the public welfare, your conſtant exertions for the preſervation of peace and tranquillity, but more eſpecially for defending the inhabitants of this town from the falſe calumnies and malignant imputations thrown out againſt them, and the method you have purſued againſt the reſtleſs and evil diſpoſed author thereof.

" By Order of this Aſſociation,

" R. BRIDDOCK, Chairman."

" *Manchester,*

"*Manchester, February* 15, 1793.

"At a Meeting of the Associated Loyalists, held at Mr. Matthew Green's, Blackmoor's Head, Old Church-yard, for the purpose of supporting our present Constitution against its Enemies, the Friends of Anarchy and Murder:

"JAMES ACKERS, Esq; Boroughreeve.
"Mr. JOHN LEAF, } Constables.
"Mr. JOSEPH HARDMAN, }

"*Gentlemen,*

"Unanimously resolved;

"That the Thanks of this Society be presented to you, for your late Exertions to preserve the Peace and Tranquillity of this Town in your official capacities; and also for your just and spirited Answers to Mr. Thomas Walker's false, infamous, and ridiculous Charge; and for defending of this Town from the gross and invidious imputations which have been basely thrown out against the true Supporters of the present happy and glorious Constitution.

"JOHN COOPER, President."

Upon the spirit that dictated these advertisements (which appeared in the Manchester newspapers,) and upon the facts and reasonings in the foregoing Correspondence, the reader must make his own comments.

The riots at Manchester, so similar in their origin and progress to the disgraceful proceedings at Birmingham, were too important to the public tranquillity to remain unnoticed by the legislature of the country. Accordingly they were mentioned in due terms of abhorrence by Mr. Fox and Mr. Grey, in the House of Commons, on December the 17th, 1792.

In reply to the observations of Mr. Fox, Mr. Windham made a speech, of which the following is an extract:—

"Mr.

" Mr. Windham replied to Mr. Fox. The Houſe had di-
" rected no proſecutions on either ſide, and, therefore, could
" not be charged with partiality. The law was equally
" open in all caſes. The indignation excited againſt Mr.
" Walker, was much more fairly imputable to his political
" opinions, than to his being a Diſſenter. It was natural,
" and even juſtifiable, for men to feel indignation againſt
" thoſe who promulgated doctrines, threatening all that was
" valuable and dear in ſociety ; *and if there were not means of*
" *redreſs by law, even violence would be juſtifiable.* But we had
" laws, therefore violence ought to be puniſhed ; and on this
" ground he defended the Aſſociations, as tending to pre-
" vent violence by giving vigour to the law."

Debrett's Parliamentary Regiſter, Vol. XXXIV. Page 165.

I hope the reader will indulge me while I make ſome remarks on the preceding extract. Mr. Windham is now in the Miniſtry : he is the Miniſter at War : he is re-elected for Norwich. Important as the ſituations are, which he now fills, it is important alſo for the ſame reaſons, that the public ſhould be apprized of the principles and practice of the man, whoſe character and conduct have induced his Majeſty to raiſe him to the poſt he now occupies.

" *The Houſe had directed no proſecutions on either ſide, and there-*
" *fore could not be charged with partiality :*" Mr. Windham has the reputation of being a moſt acute reaſoner ; a great logician ; but to me, a man of plain and common underſtanding, this obſervation affords a bad ſpecimen of his reputed abilities.

It was ſtated to the Houſe that my dwelling was repeatedly attacked ; that other perſons alſo at Mancheſter had ſuffered in their habitations and their property, by means of a lawleſs Mob, unreſtrained by the Civil power till the miſchief was done. There was no complaint on the part of the Mob, or

of

of the Civil power at Manchester: there was no fact stated by which it appeared that I had even hurt one human creature in defending myself. The facts and complaints were all on one side. How, therefore, could the House direct prosecutions on both? They might have directed an *enquiry* to take place; but surely it would have been hard to have directed the injured to be prosecuted by the Law, after having been thus persecuted by the Mob. Such, however, was Mr. Windham's notion of Impartiality!

Again: Prosecutions were directed against the Rioters at Birmingham—Why not therefore against the similar Rioters at Manchester? Some slight suspicion of partiality might surely arise upon this tender concern for the one town, and carelessness about the other.

"*The Law was equally open in all cases.*" "The Law," (it has been frequently said in charges to Grand Juries, and it is a favourite sentiment) "is alike open to the poor and to "the rich;" "and so," (said Mr. Horne Tooke on some occasion) "is the *London Tavern*; but they will give you a very "sorry welcome, unless you come with money sufficient to "pay for your entertainment."

I have no scruple to say, from dear-bought experience, that *there is no law in this country for the poor man.* The expence of attorneys, and the expence of counsel, and the expence of witnesses, and the expence of Stamps to the Government, and fees to the Law Officers, the expence of time, and of trouble, the neglect of business, and the anxiety of mind, are beyond calculation to those who have not had melancholy experience of the fact. Neither is there certainty of justice even to those who are able and willing to afford the expence of a prosecution, if the minds of Jurors can be warped on the day of trial from all impartial considerations, by incessant falsehood and invective, from pulpits and printing-houses, and parish associations. I have a right to complain of the expence of law, when I can inform the reader, with truth,

that the expences of the Trial, to which this is a Sequel, including the proſecution of Dunn,* amounted to nearly *Three Thouſand Pounds.*

I have a right to complain of the uncertainty of juſtice, after the trial of Benjamin Booth at Mancheſter; after having peruſed the trials of Mr. Winterbotham; after having ſeen the verdicts of a Warwickſhire jury, and compared the compenſations, with the loſſes of the Birmingham ſufferers.

I know not in what tone of voice, nor with what caſt of countenance, Mr. Windham pronounced that "*the law was equally open in all caſes:*" but it was a cruel and malignant ſarcaſm: and Mr. Windham could not but know that it was untrue when he uttered it. The law is indeed open to thoſe who have the key of the treaſury to unlock it—it was open even to Thomas Dunn of infamous notoriety—

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* Dunn was tried at the auutmn aſſizes 1794, upon an indictment containing no leſs than ten ſeveral perjuries, which he had ſworn, upon the trial againſt Mr. Walker and others.

To prove the falſehood of the facts ſworn to by Dunn, various witneſſes were called; and firſt, as to his reading and writing. The Rev. Mr. Griffith, (the Magiſtrate before whom Dunn's informations were taken, and who upon them iſſued warrants againſt Mr. Walker, Mr. Paul, Mr. Jackſon, and ſeveral others, for high treaſon) ſwore, that he had atteſted informations ſigned by Dunn in his preſence, and that he had no doubt of his being able to read and write. This was confirmed by Mr. Griffith's clerk, Mr. Paynter, who had ſeen Dunn write his name, and had alſo ſeen letters which he believed to have been written by him.—Two other witneſſes depoſed to the ſame effect.

Mr. Jones and Mr. Ridgeway, two gentlemen of great worth and reſpectability, ſtated that they ſaw Dunn at the houſe of Mr. Walker's brother, on the 18th of March; that Dunn fell upon his knees, and begged Mr. Walker's pardon; ſaid, that he had injured his character; that *he had accuſed him falſely*, and that he had been *bribed* to do what he had done; and that when Mr. Walker refuſed to be alone with him, Dunn threatened Mr. Walker, and ſaid, that it ſhould be worſe for him. Several other witneſſes were called, who proved the other facts in the indictment.

The Jury found Dunn guilty; and the ſentence of Mr. Juſtice Rooke was, that he ſhould ſtand once in the Pillory, and be impriſoned for two years in Lancaſter Caſtle.

Perhaps it would be open alſo to Mr. Windham—from the tender mercies of whoſe recommendation in this inſtance, heaven defend the injured poor!

" *The indignation excited againſt Mr. Walker, was much more* " *fairly imputable to his political opinions, than to his being a* " *diſſenter.*" This indignation (it muſt be remembered) broke out into acts of violence and outrage: into attempts upon my property and my life. And this is *fair*, I ſuppoſe, according to Mr. Windham, againſt a man who thinks for himſelf upon the ſubject of public abuſes, and who cannot in conſcience ſubſcribe to Mr. Windham's political creed. Such is the mode of argument recommended by this logical reaſoner. Which, it muſt be confeſſed, is of a piece with his recommendation on the ſubject of the French war: a war to be purſued according to him and Mr. Burke *uſque ad internecionem*, to extermination—till revenge ſhall be ſatiated with ſlaughter, and till there be no victims to ſlay—and till Jacobinical arguments ſhall be unanſwerably confuted by the complete deſtruction of every man whom they are pleaſed to call by the name of Jacobin: an æra which we may ſafely ſay, will never arrive. I ſincerely wiſh, however, that this may perpetually remain the characteriſtic diſtinction between the enemies, and the friends to freedom.—May the former appeal to force, and the latter to argument!

" *It was natural and even juſtifiable for men, to feel indig-* " *nation againſt thoſe who promulgated doctrines, threatening all* " *that was valuable and dear in ſociety*;" Mr. Windham did not ſtate, becauſe Mr. Windham could not ſtate, what doctrines I have ever promulgated of this deſcription. I think I may venture to ſay that I have never propagated any doctrines but the doctrines of peace and good will toward men: I have never ventured like Mr. Windham, " threatening all that was valuable and dear in ſociety," to juſtify acts of violence againſt my neighbour—becauſe he differed from me in political *opinion*. Mr. Windham, like his friend

Mr.

Mr. Burke, deals in aſſertion. Proofs are not his fort: if he has them I challenge him to produce them; and I now ſay to Mr. Windham, *it is falſe*, that I ever promulgated doctrines threatening all that is valuable and dear in Society.

" *And if there were not means of redreſs by law, even vio-* " *lence would be juſtifiable.*" One would have thought it more becoming a Legiſlator to have ſaid, if there are not means of redreſs by law, in God's name, let us haſten to enact the law, which ſhall give redreſs. Not ſo this Member of the Britiſh Senate, this Law-maker of the Nation—who ſtanding up in his place and character as a Legiſlator, unbluſhingly recommends a ſyſtem of force and violence, rather than propoſe the means of peaceable reparation. Surely, if there be any doctrine which " threatens all that is valuable and dear in Society," it is the juſtification of a recurrence to forcible inſtead of peaceable means of redreſſing ſuppoſed injuries: This is even worſe than at once deſtroying all the bonds of Society, and turning mankind looſe again into a ſtate of ſavage nature, for ſavages, never puniſh mere differences of opinion; they confine their revenge to real not to fancied injuries.

" *But we had laws, therefore violence ought to be puniſh-* *ed*;" If there be laws, againſt the crimes of which Mr. Windham inſinuates I am guilty, Why did he not move for my puniſhment?—And if violence ought to be puniſhed, Why did he defend the rioters who uſed it?

" *And on this ground he defended the Aſſociations, as tending* " *to prevent violence by giving vigour to the Law.*" Mr. Windham ſhould have recollected that the cry of the rioters, and the cry of the Aſſociators is one and the ſame: Church and King, and Down with the Jacobins, is equally in vogue amongſt theſe worthy coadjutors. Exhilarated by the muſic of theſe vociferations, Mr. Windham's reſpectable Clients

proceeded to attack the perſons and deſtroy the property of peaceable citizens, and thus do they tend to prevent violence and give vigour to Law!

I have taken for granted the accuracy of this ſpeech of Mr. Windham, as reported in the Parliamentary Regiſter: becauſe that book is notoriouſly a compilation of authority, and the account appears with Mr. Windham's name at length to it. When Mr. Windham ſhall diſavow the text, I ſhall diſavow the comment on this ſpecimen of the right honourable Gentleman's logical acuteneſs and legiſlative humanity.

Upon the 20th of December, 1792, the Mancheſter Conſtitutional, Patriotic, and Reformation Societies, publiſhed the following addreſs on Mr. Fox's ſpeech therein mentioned.

"MANCHESTER CONSTITUTIONAL, REFORMATION, *and* PATRIOTIC SOCIETIES.

"The Mancheſter, Conſtitutional, Reformation, and Patriotic ſocieties have read with much ſatisfaction the reports in the public papers of Mr. Fox's ſpeech in the Houſe of Commons, on the 13th inſtant, on the ſubject of the addreſs.

"They congratulate the people of Great Britain, that the diſtinguiſhed talents of this very able man have been thus honourably employed—in refutation of the calumnies which the enemies of liberty have moſt induſtriouſly propagated—in vindication of the public right of political diſcuſſion—in ſupporting the manifeſt expediency of a redreſs of grievances—and above all, the abſolute neceſſity of "that one thing needful" to our political ſalvation, a parliamentary REFORM.—To this ſingle point are the efforts of the Mancheſter ſocieties directed; nor do they wiſh to overturn any part of the Britiſh conſtitution, but the preſent inadequate and corrupt ſyſtem of parliamentary repreſentation:

tion: when the will of the people ſhall be fairly expreſſed in the Houſe of Commons of Great Britain, by means of repreſentatives equally elected, and under the *due* controul of the electors—when no doubt can reaſonably remain but that a vote of the Houſe of Commons ſhall be the voice of the nation—then, and not till then, will the Mancheſter ſocieties be ſatisfied—then, and not till then, will they relax their efforts in this public cauſe.

"They have obſerved with infinite ſatisfaction the numerous *aſſociations* of the penſioned friends of government, againſt republicans and levellers no where to be found—againſt *ſeditious* writings and meetings, and correſpondencies which theſe enemies of freedom either cannot, or dare not point out—againſt the advocates for equalizing property, of whom theſe ſocieties have never heard, whoſe propoſitions they have never ſeen, whoſe publications, if exiſting, they have never peruſed. For the equalization of *rights* amongſt members of the ſame community, they are advocates; to the equalization of property (were it even poſſible) they are decided enemies. Knowing by hard-earned experience the difficulty of obtaining property by the ſweat of their brow, under the burthen of the numerous taxes which oppreſs them, they can have no inducement to become the advocates of a meaſure, ſo inconſiſtent with the firſt object of Society.

"But to theſe Ariſtocratic Aſſociations, the Mancheſter Conſtitutional, Reformation, and Patriotic ſocieties, feel themſelves infinitely indebted. At a time when timid ſurmiſes, and legal doubts, and courtly obſtacles were thrown in the way of ſocieties convened for the purpoſe of political enquiry and conſtitutional diſcuſſion, theſe friendly aſſociates have publickly met for the very purpoſes hitherto complained of: they have voluntarily obtruded themſelves in the gap of danger: they have brought with them the privilege of law, and the countenance of Government: and having

having taken under their own protection *one ſide* of a Political queſtion, they have fairly ſanctioned their antagoniſt ſocieties, in the free diſcuſſion and public defence of the other.

" The Mancheſter Societies do therefore exhort their fellow citizens to meet peaceably, but firmly, on every convenient opportunity, for the purpoſe of inveſtigating the principles, the advantages, the defects, and the abuſes of the Conſtitution under which they live; that public ignorance and ancient prejudice may no longer ſtand in the way of ſalutary reformation; and that every friend to the rights of the people may be fully inſtructed upon thoſe queſtions, which may hereafter require his ſuffrage and ſupport.

" The Mancheſter, Patriotic, Reformation, and Conſtitutional Societies, are further deſirous of expreſſing their approbation of the Addreſs to the public, from the Society of the Friends of the People, met at Freemaſon's Tavern, the 15th inſtant; that Addreſs the Mancheſter Societies have read with great pleaſure, and hope the Friends of the People will never ceaſe their endeavours in the cauſe of freedom, till a full, complete, and adequate reform be adopted, in the repreſentation of the Commons of Great Britain.

" The Mancheſter Societies at this period of public agitation cannot cloſe this addreſs, without ſubmitting to the public ſome brief obſervations on the ſubject of an impending war between Great Britain, and France.

" They wiſh their fellow-citizens to conſider, what claſs of them (courtiers and contractors excepted) can poſſibly be benefited by ſuch a meaſure? Whether their debt will be diminiſhed, their taxes leſſened, credit ſupported, or commerce extended, by war? Whether the ridiculous pretext of the opening the Scheldt be the true motive, and whether

whether the trade and manufactures of Great Britain will not be moſt evidently benefited, if the port of Antwerp be reſtored to its priſtine ſtate? In theſe queſtions the trader and the manufacturer are much more deeply intereſted than the ſtateſman; and the traders and manufacturers of whom the Mancheſter Societies are compoſed, cannot feel any impropriety in addreſſing theſe queries to their fellow-citizens. And as ſincere friends to the genuine principles of freedom, they ſcruple not to avow their anxiety, that this country may not be induced by any courtly machinations whatever, to join the band of continental deſpots, now leagued againſt the liberties of mankind.

" Signed, by order, and on behalf of, the Mancheſter Conſtitutional Society,

" GEORGE WAKEFIELD, Preſident,
" SAMUEL JACKSON, Secretary.

" Signed, by order, and on behalf of, the Mancheſter Reformation Society,

" JOSEPH COOPER, Preſident,
" JOHN CHEETHAM, Secretary.

" Signed, by order, and on behalf of, the Mancheſter Patriotic Society,

" THOMAS CARPENTER, Preſident,
" GEORGE Mc. CALLUM, Secretary.

" *Mancheſter, Dec. 20th, 1792.*"

I recollect no public act of the Societies ſubſequent to the above date: the Reformation Society being prevented from meeting at William Gorſe's, whoſe houſe was nearly deſtroyed by the mob, this Society as well as the Conſtitutional and Patriotic Societies met at my houſe and warehouſe till about the beginning of June, 1793. At which time commenced the proceedings againſt the Members of theſe Societies, of which the trial before publiſhed contains an account. I proceed, there-

therefore, now to lay before the public ſome documents to ſhew, why I have termed the proceedings "*a conſpiracy*" on the part of the proſecutors.

The paper ſigned Sydney, with the word WAR as the title, had ſo ſtruck many of the people of Mancheſter, that (as is ſaid) ſeveral of them joined to print a new edition of it, adding a kind of introductory advertiſement. In June 1793 a member of the Patriotic or Reformation Societies, Benjamin Booth, was taken up by warrant from the Rev. Mr. Juſtice Griffith, jun. for diſtributing this paper. The outline of his treatment I have already given in the Appendix to the Trial, No. 19; the detail of which, from compunction of conſcience, he voluntarily ſent to me: it is in his own words, as follows:

"*Mancheſter, June* 20, 1793.

"SIR,

"I am happy to inform you, that I was yeſterday liberated, until the ſeſſions, by the bail of Mr. Allen Jackſon and Mr. Roberts; the crime, for which I have been impriſoned, is curſing the King, of which I am ſure I am innocent; but, How ſhall innocence itſelf eſcape, when a man is permitted, in a ſtate of very great intoxication, to ſwear whatever he pleaſes, or whatever he may be inſtructed? As this was actually the caſe with Dunn, when he ſwore againſt you, Mr. Jackſon, Mr. Paul, myſelf, and many others. I can prove this from the witneſs of the taſk-maſter of the New Bailey, Dunn's own wife, and one Peter Ogden, a private of the third regiment of dragoons.

"The crime alledged againſt you, is, for curſing the King, training men to the military exerciſe, for the avowed purpoſe of aſſiſting the French, and to dethrone the King. Every effort has been uſed to make me join evidence with Dunn; I was told all the friends of freedom in Mancheſter were arreſted. Mr. Griffith promiſed every thing that lay in his power; and Mr. Joſeph Hardman, ſaid, ſo far as

the town of Mancheſter could ſupport me it ſhould; he ſpoke this as a repreſentative of the town. Parker has been employed five or ſix days, for the direct purpoſe of ſeparately intimidating and encouraging myſelf and my wife: every gentleman, that could be thought on, came to forward me by their ſupport, Mr. Brandt, Mr. Crompton, and ſome of the officers of the Yorkſhire militia: at the ſame time that the counſel who came from London on purpoſe to examine Dunn's evidence, threatened, I ſhould be tried.

"Being put to what ſhift I could make to ſave myſelf, I enquired of Dunn, What evidence *he had given*, and though falſe as I know it is, I ſaid the ſame, three very young children and a wife's diſtreſſes being continually held up to my view. However, comfort yourſelf and *forgive me*; I was a priſoner when I ſaid this. If it be poſſible, they will get one Oliver Pearſall to join Dunn's evidence. I have this day drawn out minutes of their treatment towards me, which when you ſee or hear, you will admire, *condemn*, and, I hope, pity me. I am at the houſe of a friend, but ſhall be removed.

"BENJAMIN BOOTH.

"*Mr. Thomas Walker, Bate's Hotel, Adelphi, London.*"

MINUTES OF BENJAMIN BOOTH.

"June 5. Wedneſday. Half paſt ſeven, evening. I was arreſted on oath of John Taylor, by Mr. Unite, for a paper intitled, WAR, with the preface, and brought to Mr. Paynter's office, where Mr. Griffith, jun, was waiting for me. As ſoon as I ſaw him I thought he was intoxicated. He ſaid he was ſorry to ſee me; I had got among a very bad ſet; and it would be much better if I would give them up; he wanted to know who was the author or printer. I replied, I knew nothing about it. He ſaid he was ſurpriſed that I ſhould wiſh to excite diſcontent in the public mind; my brother was as loyal, and as well reſpected as any man in the town; and before this time I bore an excellent character; all the time

ſpeaking in an encouraging ſtile for me to come into his meaſures; but finding I was not at all inclined ſo to do, he bid me remark he had made me no promiſes; he then ſaid he ſhould demand reſpectable bail for 50l. each. I ſent to my brother, who was out: Mr. McCallum ſtepped up to bail me for one, he being preſent. Mr. Griffith immediately raiſed it to 150l. each, and replied, Now let Mr. Walker and Mr. Cooper bail you: you know them, I ſuppoſe: I replied, I did, but I did not care for them any more than for any other gentleman that I knew.

"I was then conducted by Mr. Unite through the moſt public ſtreets in our way to the New Bailey, though I deſired to the contrary ſeveral times. He kept diſcourſing to the crowd, that it was ſuch people as me who had occaſioned the war, and he would expoſe me, wiſhing at the ſame time we were all hanged: this was his continual language. Now and then the rabble ſhouted. We arrived at length at the New Bailey, where I ſtaid all night. A charge was given to the turnkey, that no one ſhould ſee me, unleſs Mr. Unite was preſent. About half paſt ſix the next day Mr. Unite took me to Mr. Griffith's, my wife following me.

"When I arrived there, I ſtaid in the lobby; the parlour door was opened, that a number of gentlemen, Mr. Hulme, ſen. Mr. Hulme, jun. Mr. Withnall, Mr. Paynter, Mr. Griffith, ſen. and ſome others, might look at me. Mr. Hulme, jun. came out, and took me to a corner of the lobby; ſaid, he was ſorry to ſee me, as we had, he believed, been ſchool-fellows; ſaid, I was of a reſpectable family, all of whom he knew very well; begged I would not ſtand in my own light; begged I would not hurt myſelf for Mr. Walker, whom he curſed, and ſaid I was worth fifty Mr. Walkers; Mr. Walker had been the deſtruction of Mr. Matthew Falkner, Mr. Birch, and would be of many others. I replied, I thought Mr. Walker a very worthy and reſpectable gentleman. He then left me. Mr. Griffith, jun.

jun. then aſked me, if I had bail ready: I ſaid I could procure it ſoon. I ſent out my wife; and in about ten minutes Mr. Cheetham, hatter, of Salford, came for one. My father-in-law, Griffith, refuſed; Cheetham ſent for a friend of his. Cheetham went out; and Paynter ſaid, by his (Cheetham's) looks, he was of the ſame kidney; and he thought any perſon who entertained the ſame principles ſhould not be allowed to be bail for me: I ſaid, I thought he was competent to the ſum.

"Griffith ſaid he ſhould not take my word; and any perſon who would be bail with me, muſt give twenty-four hours notice to Mr. Unite; and then it was as he pleaſed whether he would grant bail before the Wedneſday following, which was next court day. The gentlemen all ſaid, then, that the crowd which was gathered would pull me to-pieces: I ſaid I did not fear them. Mr. Hulme, jun. as I was going down the ſteps, ſhouted out, "Expoſe him to the fury of the populace." I turned my head, and ſaid, "thank you, Sir." I was then conducted by Mr. Unite down Hydes Croſs, Hanging-Ditch, Old Mill-Gate, through Market-Place, St. Ann's-Square, Toll-Lane, up Dean's-Gate, and down Dolefield; Mr. Unite diſcourſing in the ſame manner he had done the preceding evening, and the boys ſhouting. We arrived at length at the New Bailey. My commitment being made, I was conducted to the Governor, and it being about eight o'clock, I was locked up in my cell, and went to bed.

"June 7. This day I worked at pulling candlewick, thinking it uſeleſs to reſiſt, I did it chearfully. About nine in the morning my attorney, Mr. Dennett, came to ſee me, took what circumſtances he could down; ſaid he would try for bail for me on the morrow.

"June 8. About half paſt nine, Mr. Dennett ſaw me; told me he would procure bail for me this day, if he could; ſaid

the people who had been aſked would be bail for me in any thing elſe; but in this caſe they were afraid of hurting themſelves by being my bondſmen.

" June 9. At locking up, the Governor ſaid, he had received a charge, that in the morning I ſhould be locked up two hours longer than the reſt, be ſeparately confined during the time I was allowed to ſtay up, and be put to bed two hours before the reſt. This plan was purſued ſome time.

" June 10. Monday. I was ſeparately confined all day.

" June 11. Tueſday. I was ſeparately confined all day. My attorney came about ten o'clock: I wanted to ſpeak in private with him, but was not ſuffered. The Governor ſhewed him the charge he had received; I ſaw it myſelf; it was ſigned " John Griffith."

" June 12. Wedneſday. I was confined ſeparately this forenoon. About one o'clock I was called into court, and liberated by the bail of Mr. Eadon and Mr. M'Callum for 150l. each, and myſelf in 300l. As ſoon as I got home with my friends, we were informed by Dunn's wife, that her huſband was called up at four o'clock in the morning, and made to drink, by two Iriſhmen, (one, O'Callagan, a penſioner,) who having got Dunn ſufficiently intoxicated, ſeized him along with Mr. Parker and Mr. Shepley, who were waiting for the purpoſe at the White Hart, Bank-top; from thence they conducted him to Paynter's, where he drank a bottle of ſherry, and kept ſaying, he would tell them more, if they would give him more to drink. He was at Griffith's the ſame day, I believe, where he drank a bottle of ſhrub: (both Griffith and Paynter told me, after, of this very liquor.) Shepley ſaid, Dunn repeatedly ſaid I was innocent; but he knew, and if they would give him more liquor, he would tell them more.

" About

"About eleven o'clock this ſame evening, I was again arreſted at my own door, charged upon the oath of Dunn with curſing the King, and wiſhing it was in my power, I would guillotine him; which was ever far from my thoughts; likewiſe with lending him (Dunn) the Addreſs to the Addreſſers. This pamphlet Dunn took from my houſe on Sunday, June 2d, without permiſſion, but in my ſight. I was took by Mr. Parker, who had many attendants, from whom I afterwards learnt I was picked out of many that Dunn had accuſed, and Griffith ordered my warrant to be ſerved this night. We went down to the New Bailey, where I ſtaid in the Star Chamber all night.

"June 13. Thurſday. About eight o'clock this morning the taſk-maſter came into the Star-chamber, and ſaid, "What! are you here again? I anſwered, yes. He ſaid, what are you come for now? I anſwered, for a moſt falſe and ſcandalous lie, upon the oath of a drunken man. He ſaid, What! the man who came laſt night? I ſaid, his name is Dunn; and he anſwered, yes; he ſaid, why he was drunk when he came here! I ſaid, are you ſure? He anſwered, yes, I will take my oath of it. This was all in the preſence of Peter Ogden, a private in the third regiment of dragoons, now lying in Mancheſter, who was in the Star Chamber for taking a recruit to another regiment. I ſhould here mention, the taſk-maſter ſaid, that Griffith gave orders that Dunn ſhould lie in a good bed, have whatever he pleaſed, and go wherever he chuſed within the gates, and be treated with all the civility he could be.

"I this afternoon ſaw my wife, who told me Mr. Richard Walker ſaid I ſhould be bailed in the morning. About ſix o'clock, Mr. Dennett came, ſaid, I muſt make myſelf eaſy for a few days, as Mr. Griffith refuſed to bail me, until Wedneſday next. My wife likewiſe told me Mr. Thomas Walker was ſent after to London, Mr. Jackſon was run away, and many others had done the ſame; and there were warrants

warrants, againſt McCallum, Smith, Cheetham, Mitchell, Paul, Barrett, and as many as were known to be members of any of the Societies.

" My heart was very low: about ten o'clock, Mr. Parker came into the Star-chamber, related, that my brother was almoſt fretted to death upon my account. As he (my brother) and himſelf (Parker) had heard Mr. Griffith ſay he would refuſe to take bail for me upon any account. He ſaid, if I would ſtep forward and declare all I knew of the buſineſs he would be bound himſelf, nay, he would even bring Mr. Joſeph Hardman to give me his bond, that the whole town of Mancheſter would ſupport me. My wife and family ſhould be well provided for by the town, myſelf reſpected and ſupported in every thing I wiſhed to undertake, and himſelf and my brother would, if I owed any thing, pay it for me. He told me, Mr. Griffith was waiting for me: I then followed him into the Turnkey's apartment, where was Mr. Griffith, Mr. Joſeph Hardman, Mr. Paynter, and ſeveral others. Mr. Griffith then aſked me if I had any bail. I anſwered, I thought I ſhould have in the morning, but it was very late. He ſaid " Oh! well then," and immediately ſigned my commitment. Mr. Joſeph Hardman then ſaid, he hoped, I ſhould conſider the ſituation I was in; he was ſorry to ſee me in it; ſaid, if I would ſtep forward, and declare what I knew, he would ſupport me as far as he was able for my families ſake. Mr. Griffith ſaid, he would do the ſame moſt willingly, but my confeſſion muſt be free, and I ſhould not conſider what Mr. Joſeph Hardman and he had ſaid as any promiſes. I told him, I had ſupported what I thought was right, and it ſhould be conviction only ſhould make me change ſides. I would hear what any one had to ſay upon the ſubject, and I would conſult with my wife and other relations. It was granted, that my wife ſhould ſee me the next day, as alſo my brother; he then gave the Taſkmaſter orders to treat me civilly.

Friday,

" Friday, June 14. This forenoon I was ſeparately confined. At noon the Governor let me have the liberty to walk in the front of his office: Parker had been with me alone in the forenoon: he ſaid, Cheetham, Mitchell, and M'Caſland, were joined in evidence with Dunn, and I had but a few hours to determine whether I would ſuffer myſelf, or ſave from infamy and deſtruction my three children, my wife and myſelf, and leave thoſe, whoſe property would defend them, to take care of themſelves. Mr. Hill adviſed me to do the ſame. The Taſk-maſter, likewiſe my brother, Mr. Withnall, who is an attorney, declared that the crime of which Walker and Paul were accuſed, was High Treaſon, and, therefore, every one preſent, where High Treaſon was, were all principals, there could be no acceſſaries: begged I would ſave myſelf, and ſaid all the town would reſpect and ſupport me.—I then ſaw my wife, and wrote a letter to Mr. Griffith, ſignifying if indemnification would be granted, I would come forward as evidence, ſupport the King and Conſtitution, and our moſt excellent form of Government, and do my utmoſt to bring to juſtice any one who ſhould either openly or ſecretly oppoſe the ſame.—This letter was took by the Taſk-maſter, who returned, that no indemnification could be granted, " but if I was to be hanged, he (Griffith) would be hanged for me," ſtruck his breaſt, and ſaid poor man! poor man! being ſeemingly convinced that my conſcience accuſed me of having done wrong before time. This was the report which the Taſkmaſter gave me.

" About nine o'clock Mr. Griffith, Mr. Joſeph Hardman, Parker, and Mr. Paynter came; as we were in the Taſk-maſter's parlour ſome wine was brought in two decanters; we drank the King and Conſtitution; Griffith aſked me very many queſtions about a bit of paper, which Mr. Walker had in his hand, tore it, and ſaid, " I would as ſoon guillotine him as tear this bit of paper." This I poſitively denied ever having heard or ſeen: he replied, No, no, Dunn gives a very full evidence.—Mr. Joſeph Hardman

man bid me recollect, if I could not remember a tranſaction of that kind. I anſwered I never remembered any ſuch a circumſtance. Many other queſtions againſt Paul and Walker were put to me. Mr. Griffith ſaid he wanted the great men; he wanted "to pick his birds."—Hardman ſeeing the perplexity of my mind defired Griffith to go home: both Griffith and Paynter ſeemed to be intoxicated: Griffith ſaid I had ſaid nothing at all; I knew more, and he would not be trifled with: (though I ſaid more than what was true) they then departed, and left me to a night of the greateſt anguiſh of mind I ever had experienced.

"Saturday, June 15th.—After a ſleepleſs night, I rambled, having permiſſion, round the gardens, till about ten o'clock; when Parker came, who told me my brother and Hallows ſet off the evening before to Liverpool, when no doubt they would take McCallum and Smith. Mr. Richard Walker, he ſaid, ſet out about twelve o'clock at night to London; Mr. Thomas Walker was in cuſtody in London: it would be a very nice matter to get myſelf admitted evidence, he repreſented; as Mr. Griffith was in no wiſe ſatisfied with what I ſaid: he was convinced I ſcreened Walker, and he expected my evidence to be as full as Dunn's, as Dunn ſaid, I knew more than he did: he then ſaid how much intereſted Mr. Joſeph Hardman, Mr. Paynter, Mr. Withnall, himſelf, and very many gentlemen were in my favour, now they ſaw I ſhould prove myſelf a loyal and honeſt man to my King and Country; told me, to recollect every circumſtance I could before the evening, when Mr. Griffiths and others would come down, and if my account pleaſed, my pardon ſhould be wrote for.—This day I had permiſſion to ſee my wife; (but he had talked to her before, as I underſtood afterwards) whom, however, I muſt not ſpeak to, unleſs he was preſent, and no whiſpering was allowed; about eleven o'clock a perſon who I underſtood was Counſellor Hay, or ſome name like it, came: he heard what Dunn ſaid, then what I ſaid; ſaid Dunn and me ſhould not be allowed to communicate our depoſitions

ſitions to each other: but this counſel was not followed. Griffith and another gentleman was preſent.—Counſellor Hay looked at the papers, books, and pamphlets; wanted to know how many conſtituted the meeting, and how many men in Walker's employ were there the firſt night: not being certain, we conjectured fifteen members; he ſaid very little: as ſoon as he was gone, Parker and my wife came, to whom as before I muſt ſay nothing in private. Parker went up with my wife, to ſee what was in McCallum's trunks.

"About half paſt nine Griffith and Paynter came: (Parker and my wife came before) I told them, I was very eager to ſupport them. I had deſired Parker to ſtop McCallum's trunks, and, if any body directed them, he and Smith might be found by that means. Deſired them to ſend to Sheffield, and ſearch Gales's ſhop, and I was ſure they might have ſomething againſt him, and alſo to attack Mr. William Camage, who I ſaid was Secretary to the Conſtitutional Society, and if he, his books, &c. could but be got, they would open a vaſt field of information to them.

"My pardon was ſent for this night; I did not read the letter, but Griffith told me it was for it, and I ſaw him ſign it. Seeing me ſo zealous in their cauſe, I was ordered to board with the Taſk-maſter, to have a moderate allowance of drink, but not to make Dunn jealous.—This was Mr. Griffith's order, who related when Dunn was at his houſe, he drunk a whole bottle of ſhrub except one glaſs. Paynter ſaid, he had drunk the *ſame day* a bottle of ſherry at his houſe, and the Taſk-maſter remarked "it was no wonder he was ſo very drunk that night then." Griffith replied, laughing, "But I believe he had drank all day and began very early." Paynter ſaid, Yes. Griffith ſaid, I had not come up to Dunn's evidence: I muſt think on ſomething more; it was of no uſe what I had ſaid. After a deal of common diſcourſe, they went away about twelve o'clock, and I immediately went to bed.

" Sunday, June 16. I walked round the gardens almoſt all forenoon: about four o'clock, Mr. Joſeph Hardman, Mr. Brandt, and many others came; Hardman told them, I would now be an honeſt man.—Brandt ſaid I had ſerved him; I was an honeſt ſervant, but too ſtiff. I ſaid I was ſtiff enough at ſometimes: he ſaid it might be eaſily looked over when a man was honeſt; he had no other fault to find with me; Hardman ſaid I ſhould gain a deal of reſpect by acting the part I did. They then went away.

" Parker then came (ſaid my wife and ſiſter, whom he had ſeen would viſit me this evening, but as it was very wet, I did not ſee them this day.) He ſtaid tea and we all drank it together, Parker, Dunn, myſelf, and the Taſk-maſter, and family: he departed ſoon after, and I went to bed ſoon: his (Parker's) diſcourſe was the old over again.

" Monday, June 17.—Parker was with me by ten o'clock, ſaid, Mr. Griffith was convinced I ſcreened Walker; he told me, I was doing myſelf an injury by ſo doing: they did not want to take Walker's life; but ſomething which would ſubject him to fine and impriſonment; as they knew it was him and others like him, who had led the ignorant aſtray, and they did not wiſh to hurt any poor man: he bid me remember what I could to criminate Walker, and repeated again they did not want to touch his life; he reminded me of the advantages I ſhould reap, and of the dangerous ſituation I ſhould leave myſelf in, if I could not declare what would be thought ſufficient to form an evidence for the crown.

" Tueſday, June 18.—This morning, very ſoon, Parker came down: he particularly deſired me to be ſerious: told me I ſhould ſee a perſon, who I had never ſeen before; ſaid upon the account I gave my life depended.—The Taſk-maſter came to me; and ſaid, if I did not declare to the full extent of my knowledge I moſt certainly ſhould be hanged, as

my pardon was denied, and a perſon was come down, ſent for the purpoſe by Government, to examine Dunn's evidence, and hear what I had to ſay.

" I now applied to Dunn to know what evidence he had given; who ſaid that he had declared that the Societies were formed for the purpoſe of learning the manual exerciſe, to aſſiſt the French to erect a form of Government on a freſh foundation, and to aboliſh Kingly power. He had ſwore againſt Walker, that he had ſaid he would as ſoon guillotine the King, as tear that bit of paper; this he ſaid Walker had in his hand, when he made the expreſſion, and had been diſcourſing on the effects of war to this country; ſaid, that he had ſwore likewiſe, that at Walker's, men learned the manual exerciſe, to aſſiſt the French, ſhould they land: and that from ſeven to twenty every meeting, at leaſt, up to the ſix weeks laſt paſt, did learn it for that very purpoſe: and that Oliver Pearſall was the firſt, who did learn it them; and if I would not join his evidence, Oliver Pearſall muſt be ſent for. Againſt Paul, he ſwore, that when the addreſs from the united Iriſhmen addreſſed to the people of Scotland was read, he (Paul) did ſay how much he paid for an eſtate there, and ſaid it was to ſupport the Lord Lieutenant, who was King, and had 3000l. per annum, that he curs'd the King and all Kings, and ſaid, if Scotland would join Ireland, it would take the ſoldiers, and if the French landed he would aſſiſt them. Againſt Mr. Jackſon, George McCallum, Smith, Barrett, and myſelf, he ſwore, that we curſed the King, and wiſhed to guillotine him.

" Here the perſon ſpoke of, appeared with Griffith; he examined Dunn. Whilſt he was doing ſo, the Taſk-maſter, who I believe did it out of charity to me, exhorted me, " for God's ſake, and my family, to join Dunn's evidence," as did alſo Parker, who went into the parlour again. When Dunn's examination was finiſhed, I was called up; the perſon ſaid he would tell me his opinion; which was, he thought I ſhould be tried, but if I choſe to ſay any thing, he would take it down; but it

would neither do me good nor harm.——I then ſaid I would let him know what I had to ſay upon the buſineſs.——Here he wrote down what I ſaid, which if it never appears I hope my friends will excuſe my relating, and if it ever does, I declare it was the extorted efforts of a poor man to ſave himſelf and family, as I thought then, from ſhame and miſery; encouraged thereto by the promiſes of perſons, whom even then I held in abhorrence, but thought I had no refuge elſe; I accidentally ſaw Mr. Paul, who aſſured me I ſhould be ſupported. I almoſt bleſſed my impriſonment, and I am convinced, it was the Almighty's doing, that I might acquaint my friends of what they were accuſed; and by having alone ſtuck to truth, in the minutes I have penned, I hope the counſel for myſelf and friends will be able to defeat theſe vile machinations.

"Wedneſday, June 19.—This day about noon I was liberated until the Seſſions by the bail of Mr. Allen Jackſon and Mr. Roberts. But ſo anxious are thoſe agents of the devil who would wiſh for the gratification of their revenge even at the expence of perjuring the accuſers, and taking away the life of the innocent, that I am informed, conſtables ſtopt every bridge to take me for ſome new crime of which I know nothing.

"BENJAMIN BOOTH."

"*Manchester, June* 21, 1793."

The detail of the treatment of Oliver Pearſall has already been given in the Appendix to the Trial No. 18. * I have only to add, that the Deputy Conſtable therein mentioned, who informed Pearſall of one perſon who had received twelve guineas for his teſtimony, and was gone home again, was Kinnaſton, the joint witneſs with Dunn upon the trial.

* It would be unneceſſary to enlarge, in this publication, on any circumſtances, or particulars, that have already been related in the TRIAL, or in the APPENDIX to it.

And

And that Callaghan therein mentioned has declared, that he had been applied to, to join Dunn's evidence, which he would have done, had it gone only to fine and a little impriſonment; but that when he found there was meant to be blood in the caſe, he would have nothing to do with it.

Some time about this period was ſold in the ſtreets of Manchester the following hand-bill, in which the reader will remark the *merciful* intention of the concluding paragraph :—

"*Some* PARTICULARS *relating to a* NEW DISCOVERY, *which contains an* ACCOUNT *of the* ACCOMPLICES *of* TOM PAINE'S JOURNEYMEN, *who were taken by Warrant, and committed to Priſon on Friday laſt.*

"The great number of bills that have been circulated in Manchester, ſince the apprehending of Tom Paine's Journeymen, has given riſe to a ſuſpicion, that a Conſtitutional Society of this town muſt have had ſome concern in it, therefore it was thought neceſſary (in order to preſerve peace, and in future prevent ſuch proceedings,) to inveſtigate the ſociety; in which were found ſome books and papers, which were immediately ſeized, and yeſterday ſeveral of the members were taken into cuſtody, and committed to priſon.

"The charges to be brought forward againſt them, are, it is believed, of a very ſerious nature.—The affair has cauſed much converſation in the town, and no ſmall buſtle with thoſe concerned in it, as meaſures are purſuing that will bring the buſineſs to a ſpeedy concluſion, and, it is expected, to the ſatisfaction of the public at large.

"From this circumſtance, there is reaſon to ſuſpect that the COOPER (who was lately in ſuch full buſineſs) will now be out of employ; alſo the black cat be driven from the family; and the two famous WALKERS (who are alſo related

related to the above) be ſhortly overtaken; *and ſhould either of theſe pedeſtrians meet with an antagoniſt whoſe abilities are ſuperior, ſo as to hurry them from this ſtage of life, no expence will be ſpared to have them interred in a manner ſuitable to their character, as a* PAUL *is already got, and a room is to be upholſtered with black paper.*"

Benjamin Booth being indicted and tried at the Mancheſter Seſſions in July, 1793, was convicted on the ſole teſtimony of Thomas Dunn, of damning the King. His teſtimony was directly contradicted by Booth's ſiſter. As the examinations of Dunn and of this woman contain ſome curious facts I here preſent them to the reader.

THOMAS DUNN,

Croſs-examined by MR. LLOYD.

Q. What are you?

A. A weaver.

Q. Where did you come from? What part of Ireland?

A. From Athlone in the county of Weſtmeath.

Q. How long have you been in Mancheſter?

A. About three years.

Q. What was your buſineſs in Ireland?

A. A weaver.

Q. Did you leave a wife in Ireland?

A. She came after me a few weeks.

Q. Did you leave one wife in Ireland?

A. She followed me ſome time after.

Q. Was

Q. Was you ever employed by the Eaſt India Company?

A. No.

Q. Was you ever employed as a crimp?

A. No.

Q. Not to pick up ſoldiers?

A. No.

Q. I believe you are not a Proteſtant?

A. No—yes—I was a Roman Catholic.

Q. Was you excommunicated from the Roman Catholic church?

A. No, I defy any perſon to prove it.

Q. How long have you been acquainted with Booth?

A. Seven or eight months particularly.

Q. Who were preſent at his houſe with McCallum and Smith? Were his wife and ſiſter in the room?

A. Yes.

Q. You went there at ſix o'clock?

A. Yes.

Q. You ſent for Burton ale?

A. Yes.

Q. This Burton ale is very ſtrong. You drank freely of it?

A. Yes.

Q. You never have been baptiz'd? *

A. No.

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* Vide the Trial, to which this is a Sequel, page 16. where Dunn ſwore that this queſtion had never been aſked him.

Q. You

Q. You joined in wiſhing the French ſucceſs?

A. Yes—and am ſorry for it.

Q. You were no friend to Kings, then?

A. No, but have changed my principles.

Q. How long have you lived in the New Bailey?

A. Six weeks.

Q. You ſurely was not accuſed of any crime: Did you ſtay in priſon by your own conſent?

A. No. I was taken up for circulating a ſeditious paper on War, an Addreſs to Manchester, ſigned Sydney.

Q. At that time you loved a little ſedition?

A. Yes.

Q. I am told you were not very ſhy at that time in ſpeaking. Did you bring theſe principles from Ireland?

A. No.

Q. You don't recollect how much you had drank from ſix to twelve o'clock?

A. No.

Q. You fix the preciſe time the words were ſpoken, about ten o'clock, and ſtaid drinking till twelve?

A. Yes.

Q. Was the previous converſation about the Faſt day?

A. I don't recollect, I drank Thomas Paine's health: we diſapproved of the Faſt day.

Q. What was you charged with, when you was taken up?

A. With circulating the war paper, and was taken before the magiſtrate.

Q. And

Q. And you immediately gave information—did you drink ſome ſhrub and wine?

A. I did not drink ſhrub and wine, but ſome good porter; it was the next day I drank ſhrub.

Q. Did you ſend for the porter yourſelf?

A. No.

Q. Did you drink the porter before you turned evidence?

A. Before and after I turned evidence—I had it from the man who took me up.

Q. Had you a good deal of porter?

A. Pretty well of it.

Q. How long after you were taken up, did you turn evidence?

A. Immediately on my being taken up I turned evidence, I had reſolved to do it a month before I was detected.

Q. Was you drunk when you fully reſolved to turn informer?

A. No. After I turned informer, I got pretty forward in liquor; at moſt times I am fond of liquor.

Q. You was then brought here?

A. Yes.

Q. And have been confined ever ſince?

A. Yes, ſeven weeks next Wedneſday.

Q. Has there been any promiſe made you that you ſhould be releaſed, if Booth is convicted?

A. No.

Q. Have you been confined in the cells?

A. I have been three or four times in the council chamber.

Q. Was you ſet to watch the bridge?

A. At the time Mr. Paul was here, to ſee who came to ſee him, and who would not.

Q. Then you had the cuſtody of Mr. Paul?

A. No.

Q. Though you ſay you had no promiſe, don't you expect to be let out if Booth is convicted?

A. No.

Q. When was you diſcharged?

A. Mr. Griffith there (pointing to the bench) deſired me to ſtop, and ſaid I was no priſoner.

Q. Do you know M^c^Callum's dog?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you get any thing by that trick?

[*Here Mr. Lloyd was interrupted by the Counſel for the Proſecution.*]

Q. Did you drink wine at Mr. Paynter's?

A. I don't recollect any thing of it.

MARY BOOTH,

Croſs-examined by MR. TOPPING.

Q. Was "God ſave the King" ſung that night, or what were the ſongs?

A. I don't recollect.

Q.

Q. When did you mention any thing of theſe tranſactions?

A. Laſt Thurſday.

Q. Where was it you told Mr. Dennett theſe words?

A. I went to Mr. Dennett, becauſe Dunn had ſaid theſe words on the Faſt day, and I had heard Dunn had ſworn them againſt my brother, and Mr. Parker told me Dunn had ſworn the contrary—that was contrary to the truth.

Q. When?

A. On Saturday afternoon, Parker came to my houſe the Saturday afternoon, the ſecond time after my brother was taken up, and told me, Dunn had ſworn againſt my brother, and that it would go very hard with him, and deſired I would ſtrain my memory to aſſiſt my brother, for to ſay ſomething againſt Mr. Walker, that would either hang him, or drive him the country, and ſaid, that was all they wanted, and he was ſent up from the juſtices at the New-Bailey.

Q. Who was preſent when this converſation took place?

A. Mr. Parker and myſelf.

JOHN PARKER.

Examined by MR. JUSTICE BAYLEY.

Q. When was *Benjamin Booth* apprehended?

A. On Wedneſday the 12th of June.

Q. What did you do, or where was you on the Saturday afterwards?

A. A few days after I went to Booth's ſiſter, to deſire her, if ſhe knew any thing reſpecting the buſineſs of *Benjamin Booth*, to relate it.

Q. Did you mention any thing reſpecting *Mr. Walker*?

A. Something was ſaid, but I don't recollect what.

Q. Did you deſire her to recollect—telling this woman to ſtrain her memory?

A. No.

Q. Did you tell her, that you was ordered by the magiſtrates to ſay any thing to her?

A. No.

Q. Did you ſay that her teſtimony might have an effect to drive Mr. *Walker* out of the country?

A. No.

Mr. *Thomas Butterworth Bayley*, the chairman of the Manchester Seſſions, gave ſtrength to *Parker's* evidence in his own favour, by declaring, after *Parker* had been examined, that he knew him very well, and that he *(Parker)* was as reſpectable a man as any in *Mancheſter*; which declaration I underſtand had great weight with the Jury. A gentleman who was preſent whilſt *Booth* was tried, and who had a very indifferent opinion of *Parker*, aſked Mr. *Bayley, during the ſitting of the court*, what knowledge he had of *Parker*; Mr. *Bayley* replied, *he knew nothing of him, but from often ſeeing him in that court, and that he appeared to be an active ſpecial conſtable.**

The Rev. Mr. Griffith, junior, told a perſon, through whom it comes to me, that Dunn was a long time before he would ſay any thing, but that, he (Griffith) out with a decanter of ſtrong Hollands gin, or ſhrub, and made the dog drunk, and then he began to open: that he ſhewed him (Dunn) his

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* Soon after *Parker* gave this evidence, he became inſolvent; and under circumſtances which were very far from juſtifying the character ſo *publicly* given him by Mr. Juſtice *Bayley*.

examination

examination when he came to himſelf, and that he had always ſtood to it ſince. The ſame perſon has alſo heard the reverend magiſtrate declare that he would not leave Walker a pair of ſhoes—he would ruin him. In conformity to this, Griffith, junior, has alſo declared in the preſence of other perſons, his readineſs to ſtab Walker, and that he would hang him if poſſible. His treatment of Dunn is farther corroborated by the following declaration.—

William Robinſon, Taſk-maſter, at the New Bailey priſon, ſays, when Thomas Dunn was placed under his care by the Reverend John Griffith, his orders were to humour and indulge him in any thing he had a mind to drink: he, therefore, let him have wine, rum, Hollands, beer, porter, &c. his orders were alſo that he ſhould dine at the Taſk-maſter's table, have a good bed, &c. and Dunn's wife frequently lay with her huſband in the ſaid priſon; ſays, Dunn frequently got drunk, and at that time always wanted more liquor than he thought proper to give him: Dunn would then be exceedingly abuſive, and frequently got liquor from the Turnkey. Dunn boarded with the Taſk-maſter from the 13th of June to the 6th of Auguſt, 1793, nearly the whole of which time he ſays, Dunn conſidered himſelf a priſoner; ſays, Dunn borrowed of the governor, Mr. Furnival, eleven ſhillings, in the name of John Griffith, but don't know whether the governor has been paid again or not. Robinſon ſays, Dunn wanted him to charge two guineas a week for his board and liquor, and to give him a ſhare of the overplus money; ſays, Dunn did not receive the priſon bread. Griffith gave Robinſon orders to let him have at leaſt four or five pints of beer or porter beſides other liquors per day. Dunn had alſo ten ſhillings in money of Robinſon, which were paid him as part of the ſaid bill for Dunn's board and liquors, alſo for wine, eating and liquor for Parker, Dunn and Booth, and for Dunn's and Booth's wives, amounting in the whole to £. 10. 6s. 6d.

COPY

COPY of the BILL.

" The Rev. Mr. John Griffith, Dr. Manchester.
" In account with Wm. Robinson, Task-master.

	£.	s.	d.
" To board wages for Thomas Dunn, from June the 13th, to August 6, 1793 - - -	7	16	0
" Ordered for Mr. Parker, Mrs. Booth, &c. to wine - - - - -	0	5	0
" To porter - - - -	0	4	6
" To victuals for Mrs. Booth - -	0	2	0
" To ditto for Mr. Parker - - -	0	2	0
" To small beer, paper, and candles - -	0	1	0
" To Benjamin Booth's board four days -	0	10	0
" To wine for Booth's, Dunn's, &c. wives -	0	2	6
	£. 9	3	0
" On Dunn's account to be added - -	1	3	6
	£. 10	6	6

" *New Bailey, Aug. 7th,* 1793."

Wm. Robinson was paid the above account, in a check upon Peel's bank, by Mr. Simpson, in Brown-street, " Treasurer " of an Association for preserving Constitutional Order and " Liberty, as well as Property, against the various efforts " of Levellers and Republicans, entered into at Manchester, " the 11th day of Dec. 1792."

Robinson says, when he first saw Dunn, it was at John Griffith's, and Dunn was then drunk. Griffith told Robinson, that Dunn had then drank a bottle of shrub, or sherry, but he don't remember which. Dunn told Robinson, he thought of going to America, and they had disappointed him, otherwise he should not have done any thing of this kind, meaning, swearing against Walker, Paul, or others: he then said, he wished he was dead: he also told Robinson he was to have had his place as Task-master at the New Bailey, but for his having to appear

in

in evidence againſt Walker, Paul, Collier, Jackſon, and others, and that it would look bad if he had it. Robinſon ſays, Dunn hurt his fingers, and deſired his wife to give him a little rum to bathe them; ſhe brought out a bottle nearly full; but Robinſon being called away, Dunn ſtole the rum, and drank it. As ſoon as Mrs. Robinſon miſſed the rum, ſhe went into Dunn's room, and accuſed him with ſtealing the rum, and aſked him, if he was not afraid it would kill him; he anſwered, he wiſhed it would, for he wiſhed he was dead. Dunn was not well for two or three days after. Robinſon ſays, his face ſeemed inflamed and red the next day. As Robinſon was ordered to indulge Dunn in every thing, he had leave to go with him to Blakely Ruſh-burying, or wake. Dunn ordered five ſhillings worth of liquor, and placed the reckoning to John Griffith. Robinſon thinks the landlord's name is Travis, but is not ſure; it was a publick houſe on the left hand ſide. Robinſon enliſted Dunn at that houſe to cauſe others to enliſt; ſays, he enliſted two other men, but Griffith let them off. Robinſon was, and is, a recruiting ſergeant, (that is, he has beating orders,) but at this time, was alſo Taſk-maſter at the New Bailey priſon.

It appears, however, that Dunn had other reſources than his friend the Rev. Juſtice. He applied one time in particular at Mr. Joſeph Hardman's (then one of the chief conſtables of the town, and the perſon ſo frequently mentioned in Booth's narrative) for a little money, and ſaid, he could do with ten guineas for the preſent. Whether he had it or not I do not know, as Mr. Joſeph Hardman was at that time in London.

The activity of this Reverend Magiſtrate ſeems to have obtained him much credit with the High Church Party in Mancheſter, and its neighbourhood: ſome of whom, in teſtimony of their approbation, publiſhed the following advertiſement in Harrop's Mancheſter Mercury of July 9th, 1793.

" *Salford,*

" *Salford, July* 5, 1793.

" At a meeting of the Society for protecting Liberty and " Property from Republicans and Levellers, held at Mr. T. " Hardman's, Crown and Cuſhion,

" It was unanimouſly reſolved,

" That the thanks of this Society be tranſmitted to the " Reverend J. Griffith, M. A. one of his majeſty's juſtices " of the peace, for his laudable exertions in bringing to " juſtice thoſe who in any wiſe offend againſt our moſt ex- " cellent form of Government, and that the following letter " be printed in both the Mancheſter papers, and ſigned by " the chairman.

" Sir,

" Truly ſenſible of the many bleſſings we enjoy under our " preſent eſtabliſhed form of Government, and likewiſe " being fully perſuaded of the advantages and utility, which " muſt naturally enſue from the Magiſtracy being properly " ſupported.

" As a Society which is founded on true Conſtitutional " principles—Permit us, Sir, to teſtify our acknowledge- " ment to you, for your very able, ſpirited, and laudable " exertions in bringing to light the hidden views of the in- " veterate foes of this country, and by your indefatigable " exertions have almoſt entirely rooted them out.

" We think it our duty, thus publickly to declare our " ſentiments, and acknowledge that through your activity " and juſtly admired ſpirit, the factious crew of evil de- " ſigning men, plotting to ſubvert our much admired Go- " vernment, and ſubſtitute Anarchy and Confuſion, have " been entirely fruſtrated, and their vile and wicked de- " ſigns brought to light.

" We

" We are ready on all occaſions to ſtep forward and " ſupport the Magiſtracy, and bring to juſtice all thoſe " who wickedly, and maliciouſly, offend againſt our moſt " excellent form of Government."

" JOHN GILLER, Chairman."

During all theſe proceedings, although the Reverend Doctor Griffith, alſo a Magiſtrate, the father of the Juſtice ſo often mentioned, did not take a very public, he certainly did not take a very idle part. He has been heard to declare, that if they (meaning his party) could but get Buller (meaning Judge Buller) down, they ſhould get ſome of them (meaning myſelf and the other defendants) hanged.

The warrants iſſued againſt myſelf and ſome of the other defendants, whoſe Trial I have already publiſhed, being for high treaſon, it is reaſonable to conclude, that the Reverend Magiſtrate, in the common courſe of his duty, * would tranſmit an account of the buſineſs to his Majeſty's Secretary of State.

That he did ſo is preſumable from Mr. Shelton the clerk of the Arraigns † being ſent down to Mancheſter to take depoſitions. Mr. Secretary Dundas, at leaſt, could not be

* Vide Burn's Juſtice, Article Treaſon.

† Mr. Shelton was, I am informed, at Mr. Nathaniel Milne's, one of the agents for the proſecution againſt myſelf and the other defendants, during his (Mr. Shelton's) ſtay in Mancheſter; and, I underſtand, Mr. Shelton blamed Mr. Griffith very much, and made a report of Dunn's evidence by no means favourable to the further proſecution of the proceedings againſt us. Mr. *Griffith*, indeed, has confeſſed that " they could not convict *Walker* of high treaſon now, becauſe " they had loſt the evidence of *Booth*, who was bailed, and " they had only one witneſs; *but as they had begun, he thought they ſhould* " *go on.*" Mr. N. Milne once obſerved, it was very extraordinary indeed, that, although he had a liſt of ſeveral hundred Democrats, he could not procure another evidence.

ignorant of what was going forward, as appears by my letters to him, and the converſation he had with Mr. Wharton on the ſubject of my application.*

In additional proof of this communication, the Reverend Mr. Griffith has declared, that he is indemnified by Government; and that at one time having only a verbal promiſe he was very uneaſy, but that he had obtained a written indemnification that morning: i. e. the morning he made this declaration.

Immediately previous to the trial at Lancaſter, of which I have given an account, there was a kind of apprehenſion amongſt ſome of the High Church Party, whether well or ill founded I know not, of Dunn's running away from compunction of conſcience, or ſome other reaſon. One of the zealous adherents of the Church and King club, juſt before the trial, diſpatched the following notice from Lancaſter, which was ſtuck up at Mr. Brierley's, the Golden-croſs Tavern in Manchester, to cheer the drooping ſpirits of the friends to the good old cauſe.

" Sir,

" I am truly happy to ſay that Dunn is this moment ar-
" rived, and is now in this houſe: let my clerk ſhew this
" poſtſcript at Mr. Harrop's ſhop for the ſatisfaction of the
" friends of the King and Conſtitution."

How the trial terminated, the public already know; but the reader will naturally enquire, by what means the proſecutor Dunn, who was not worth one farthing, ſhould be able to bear the expence of an unſucceſsful proſecution, of which the pecuniary burthen fell ſo heavy on the defendants who were acquitted?

I do not know who paid Meſſrs. Milne and Serjeant, the Manchester agents for the proſecution, nor can I yet tell at whoſe

* Vide Appendix to the Trial, p. 107—115.

whoſe command, and at whoſe charge, Mr. Shelton firſt came down from London.

If individuals have taken all this trouble, borne this heavy expence, it is ſingular they ſhould remain unknown; and it is hard, for their ſakes, that conjecture ſhould be buſy in pointing out the perſons, or ſhould balance upon the motives of private hatred, party rancour, and public ſpirit.

If the public have defrayed this expence, if the Officers of Government have it in their power to apply the purſe of the nation to inſtitute ſuits againſt individuals, whoſe oppoſition to public abuſes may render them obnoxious, there is an end of the liberty of ſpeech, the liberty of the preſs, and the liberty of the ſubject. There is no ſtanding againſt the forms and fictions of the law, when put in motion by the purſe of the Treaſury. Of what conſequence is it, whether a man be impriſoned in a jail for life, becauſe he cannot pay a thouſand pounds as the expence of a law-ſuit, or a thouſand pounds as a fine? How many innocent and worthy men are there, whom the defence of the accuſations againſt us * would have compleatly ruined! Gold may be bought too

* The expence and trouble attending the proſecutions in which I have been involved, form a part only of the injuries which I have ſuſtained for venturing to be a friend to the rights of the people. The proofs I have of the inſidious and ſyſtematic, though unſuſpected, attacks upon my character and credit as a merchant, both at home and abroad, by thoſe who expected, and perhaps wiſhed that I ſhould be overwhelmed by the proſecutions againſt me, are numerous. But were I to purſue the offenders by legal means, my whole life would be ſpent in litigation.

There are, indeed, ſome individuals, whoſe generous and decided conduct on the occaſion of this trial has made an impreſſion upon my mind, which will never be eraſed; but the general treatment I have experienced has been ſuch as I have ſtated. On other occaſions, beſides the preſent trial, the courſe of juſtice has been obſtructed, on account of my real or ſuppoſed political principles.

too dear, and ſo may juſtice: I ſhould be glad to obtain it, but I cannot afford it.

Such are the facts, which I have thought it right to ſubmit to the conſideration of the public. The reader will draw his own concluſions from this narrative. My own experience has perfectly convinced me,

1ſt, That of all the corporations (the privileged orders) of this kingdom, the CLERGY are the moſt ſore upon the ſubject of reformation. The political corporations, in general, ſeem to confeſs, that they might poſſibly bear ſome ſlight exciſion by the hand of a dexterous but delicate operator; but the Clergy, cling with the utmoſt pertinacity to the whole and every (even the minuteſt) part of their ſyſtem: it is a "*noli me tangere*;" it will bear no reform: they ſeem decidedly convinced, that it would die under the operation of amendment. I believe the borough of Old Sarum will be much ſooner given up than the Athanaſian Creed.

2dly, The ancient conſervators of the peace were elected by the people. Theſe have been ſuperſeded by Juſtices of the Peace nominated by the influence of the Crown. Next to the Clergy (very many of whom are alſo Juſtices) this ſet of men have been the moſt active againſt political diſcuſſion and reformation, and the moſt prominent and obſequious agents of

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I do not quite underſtand upon what authority letters, ſuch as the following, were *unſolicitedly* ſent by the Under-Sheriff to ſome of the Jurors ſummoned upon our trial for a conſpiracy:

"SIR,

"The Sheriff will excuſe your attendance on the Jury at the next "Aſſizes.

"Your obedient ſervant,

"JOHN PILKINGTON."

"*Preſton, 24th March*, 1794."

miniſterial

miniſterial alarm. The ſeverities of the Turkiſh oppreſſor of millions are little felt by the multitude, in compariſon with thoſe of the petty delegates of ſuperior tyranny, who ſwarm throughout that deſpotic empire. Nor is the weight of tythes and taxes in this country a burthen ſo heavy upon a neighbourhood, as the affected loyalty of a few upſtart, thorough-paced, miniſterial Juſtices of the Peace. When the day of reformation ſhall come, (as come it muſt) it is to be hoped the people will reclaim their ancient privilege of electing theſe magiſtrates themſelves. Too many of them of late days have been recruiting officers for the war, inſtead of Juſtices of the Peace.

3dly, That there is little or no dependance to be placed upon thoſe, who zealouſly mix religious with political queſtions, or who only from ſectarian motives join in political ſocieties. The Diſſenters of this kingdom have been at the commencement of almoſt every ſubject of liberal diſcuſſion of late years. But, however conſiſtently and diſintereſtedly many of them have acted, they have, as a body, conſtantly fallen ſhort of their own principles; they have excited oppoſition, which they have never compleatly ſupported; and through fear, or ſome other motive, they have been ſo ſtrongly the advocates of an overſtrained moderation, that they have rather been the enemies than the friends of thoſe who have ventured the moſt, and effected the moſt for the rights of the people.

4thly, That in all political ſocieties, beſide due caution in the admiſſion of members, all the proceedings ought to be conducted on the ſuppoſition, that they may, at one time or other, or by one mean or other, be made public, commented on, and even perverted, by the adverſaries of the principles they may contain. It is evident, that the habit of expreſſing with accuracy and forethought the ſentiments intended to be conveyed, is of very great importance to the future ſafety, as well as the reputation, of ſuch ſocieties. The want

of

of this, which education contributes ſo eſſentially to ſupply, has been the great ſtumbling block of the ſocieties which have been formed amongſt the poorer claſſes of the people.—They have not wanted integrity, good meaning, or good ſenſe; but they have failed in the phraſeological caution neceſſary in critical times, and to perſons whoſe proceedings would infallibly be attacked by every quibble of legal ingenuity.

5thly, That almoſt all the attacks upon individuals, which the enemies of Liberty have directly or indirectly ventured upon, and which have kept in the back ground ſo many men of good intentions, but whom an exceſs of caution, or a timid kind of prudence has prevented from acting, has been owing to the want of ſteadineſs and concert amongſt the friends of Liberty themſelves.—The timid deſert the bold, till the bold become cautious of ſupporting each other with their preſence, and unable to do ſo with their property.

Neither the Birmingham riots, nor the Mancheſter riots, nor the Nottingham riots, nor the proſecutions, public or private, which have taken place, would have happened, had not the timidity and want of union amongſt the friends of freedom, emboldened their enemies. Temper and moderation are truly valuable; but the profeſſionally temperate and moderate men, have been the firſt deſerters from, and have uniformly done infinite miſchief to, the rights of the people.

6thly, That men who mean to do good, muſt not look for their reward, or the effect of their exertions, during the [illegible] generation. Such an effect they may, indeed, live to ſee [illegible] it cannot be counted upon. Thoſe who are not capable of acting upon this hazard, are not the men, upon whom the public can fully depend; or who can purſue a great plan of public utility with ſatisfaction to themſelves.

7thly, That the ſum and ſubſtance of all the hazard which the friends of freedom run, of all the evils which the people ſuffer, and of all the political iniquity, paſt, preſent, and to come, is founded upon, and comprized in, the want of a compleat and univerſal ſyſtem of public education.

Why are the maſs of the people, the poorer claſs, the ſwiniſh multitude, as Mr. Burke contumelioufly terms them, ſo generally adverſe to their friends, and ſo blindly the dupes of their oppreſſors?

Becauſe they are ignorant.

Why do the middling claſs, the more informed amongſt the public, heſitate upon ſelf-evident propoſitions, wherein they are ſo materially intereſted?

Becauſe they are at beſt but half informed—becauſe they have been in the habit of believing that men, who are often more ignorant than themſelves, have the excluſive monopoly of political knowledge.

Why do the efforts of the moſt ardent and enlightened men of the nation, upon political ſubjects, become gradually weak, careleſs, ineffectual, unſucceſsful?

Becauſe they know and feel the difficulty of perſuading men who are ignorant of, and therefore dead to, their own intereſts—they know that the ſeed of knowledge is ſown upon barren ground; they doubt of its growth, they deſpair of ſeeing any effect from their exertions; and they are unwilling to become the victims of thoſe, whom they are labouring to ſerve.

Ignorance—Public Ignorance is the ſole cauſe of Political Evil, and the great Bane of Human Happineſs.

THOMAS WALKER.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

EXTRACTS *from* Mr. ARTHUR YOUNG's TRAVELS *in* FRANCE,

During the Years 1787, 1788, and 1789.—p. 532 to 546, &c. Chap. XXII. *First Edition.* 1792.

ON THE REVOLUTION OF FRANCE.

"THE groſs infamy which attended *Letters de Cachet*, and "the Baſtile, during the whole reign of Louis XV. made them "eſteemed in England, by people not well informed, as the "moſt prominent features of the Deſpotiſm of France. They "were certainly carried to an exceſs hardly credible; to the "length of being ſold with blanks, to be filled up with "names, at the pleaſure of the purchaſer; who was thus able, "in the gratification of private revenge, to tear a man from "the boſom of his family, and bury him in a dungeon, where "he would exiſt forgotten, and die unknown! *—But ſuch "exceſſes

* "An anecdote, which I have from an authority to be depended on, will "explain the proſligacy of government in reſpect to theſe arbitrary impriſon- "ments. Lord Albermarle, when Ambaſſador in France, about the year "1753, negotiating the fixing of the limits of the American Colonies, which "three years after produced the war, calling one day on the Miniſter for "Foreign Affairs, was introduced, for a few minutes, into his cabinet, while "he finiſhed a ſhort converſation in the apartment, in which he uſually re- "ceived thoſe who conferred with him. As his Lordſhip walked backwards "and forwards, in a very ſmall room (a French Cabinet is never a large one) "he could not help ſeeing a paper, lying on the table, written in a large "legible hand, and containing a liſt of the priſoners in the Baſtile, in which "the firſt name was Gordon. When the Miniſter entered, Lord Albermarle "apologized for his involuntarily remarking the paper;—the other replied,

" exceſſes could not be common in any country; and they " were reduced almoſt to nothing from the acceſſion of the " preſent King. The great maſs of the people, by which I " mean the lower and middle ranks, could ſuffer very little " from ſuch engines; and as few of them are objects of " jealouſy, had there been nothing elſe to complain of, it is " not probable they would ever have been brought to take " arms. The abuſes attending the levy of taxes were heavy " and univerſal. The kingdom was parcelled into generalities, " with an intendant at the head of each, into whoſe hands the " whole power of the Crown was delegated for every thing, " except the military authority; but particularly for all " affairs of finance. The generalities were ſubdivided into " elections, at the head of which was a *Sub-delegué*, appointed " by the intendant. The rolls of the *Taille*, *Capitation*, " *Vingtiemes*, and other taxes, were diſtributed among diſ- " tricts, pariſhes, and individuals, at the pleaſure of the " intendant, who could exempt, change, add, or diminiſh, at " pleaſure. Such an enormous power conſtantly acting, and " from which no man was free, muſt, in the nature of things, " degenerate, in many caſes, into abſolute tyranny. It muſt " be obvious, that the friends, acquaintances, and dependents " of the intendant, and of all his *Sub-delegués*, and the friends " of theſe friends, to a long chain of dependence, might be

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" that it was not of the leaſt conſequence, for they made no ſecret of the names. " Lord A. then ſaid, that he had ſeen the name of Gordon firſt in the liſt, " and he begged to know, as in all probability the perſon of this name was a " Britiſh ſubject, on what account he had been put into the Baſtile. The " Miniſter told him, that he knew nothing of the matter, but would make " the proper inquiries. The next time he ſaw Lord Albermarle, he informed " him, that, on inquiring into the caſe of Gordon, he could find no perſon " who could give him the leaſt information; on which he had had Gordon " himſelf interrogated, who ſolemnly affirmed, that he had not the ſmalleſt " knowledge, or even ſuſpicion, of the cauſe of his impriſonment, but that " he had been confined 30 years; however, added the Miniſter, I ordered " him to be immediately releaſed, and he is now at large." Such a caſe wants no comment.

" favoured in taxation, at the expence of their miſerable " neighbours; and that Noblemen in favour at Court, to whoſe " protection the intendant himſelf would naturally look up " could find little difficulty in throwing much of the weight " of their taxes on others, without a ſimilar ſupport. In- " ſtances, and even groſs ones, have been reported to me, in " many parts of the kingdom, that made me ſhudder at the " oppreſſion to which numbers muſt have been condemned, " by the undue favours granted to ſuch crooked influence. " But without recurring to ſuch caſes, What muſt have been " the ſtate of the poor people paying heavy taxes, from " which the Nobility and Clergy were exempted? A cruel " aggravation of their miſery, to ſee thoſe who could beſt " afford to pay, exempted becauſe able!—The inrolments " for the militia, which the *Cahiers* call, *an injuſtice without* " *example*, * were another dreadful ſcourge on the peaſantry; " and as married men were exempted from it, occaſioned in " ſome degree that miſchievous population, which brought " beings into the world in order for little elſe than to be " ſtarved. The *corvées*, or police of the roads, were annually " the ruin of many hundreds of Farmers; more than 300 " were reduced to beggary in filling up one vale in Loraine; " all theſe oppreſſions fell on the *tiers etat* only; the Nobility " and Clergy having been equally exempted from *tailles*, " militia, and *corvées*. The penal code of finance makes one " ſhudder at the horrors of puniſhment inadequate to the " crime. † A few features will ſufficiently characterize the " old government of France:

" 1. Smugglers of ſalt, armed and aſſembled to the number " of five, in Provence, *a fine of* 500 liv. and *nine years gallies*; " —in all the reſt of the kingdom, *Death*.

" 2. Smugglers

* " *Nob. Briey*, p. 6. &c. &c."

† " It is calculated by a writer (*Recherches et Conſid. par M. le Baron de* " *Cormeré*, tom. 2. p. 187.) very well informed on every ſubject of finance, " that, upon an average, there were annually taken up, and ſent to priſon, or

 the

" 2. Smugglers armed, aſſembled, but in number under " five, *a fine of* 300 liv. and *three years gallies*. Second offence, " *Death*.

" 3. Smugglers, without arms, but with horſes, carts, or " boats, *a fine of* 300 liv. *if not paid, three years gallies*. Second " offence, 400 liv. *and nine years gallies*.—In Dauphiné, ſecond " offence, *gallies for life*. In Provence, *five years gallies*.

" 4. Smugglers, who carry the ſalt on their backs, and with- " out arms, *a fine of* 200 liv. and, *if not paid, are flogged and* " *branded*. Second offence, *a fine of* 300 liv. *and ſix years* " *gallies*.

" 5. Women, married and ſingle, ſmugglers, firſt offence, " *a fine of* 100 liv. Second, 300 liv. Third, *flogged, and* " *baniſhed the kingdom for life. Huſbands reſponſible both in fine* " *and body*.

" 6. Children, ſmugglers, the ſame as women.—*Fathers and* " *mothers reſponſible; and, for defect of payment, flogged*.

" 7. Nobles, if ſmugglers, *deprived of their Nobility; and* " *their houſes razed to the ground*.

" the gallies, Men 2340. Women 896. Children 201. Total 3437.— " 300 of theſe to the gallies, (tom. 1. p. 112.) The ſalt confiſcated from " theſe miſerables amounted to 12,633 quintals, which, at the mean price of " 8 liv. are,

"	101,064 liv.
" 2772 lb. of ſalted fleſh, at 10 ſ.	1,386
" 1086 horſes, at 50 liv.	54,300
" 52 carts, at 150 liv.	7,800
" Fines,	53,207
" Seized in houſes,	105,530
	323,287"

" 8. Any

" 8. Any perſons in employments (I ſuppoſe employed in " the ſalt works or the revenue,) if ſmugglers, *Death*. And " ſuch as aſſiſt in the theft of ſalt in the tranſport, *hanged*.

" 9. Soldiers ſmuggling, with arms, are *hanged*; without " arms, *gallies for life*.

" 10. Buying ſmuggled ſalt to re-ſell it, *the ſame puniſhments* " *as for ſmuggling*.

" 11. Perſons in the ſalt employments, *empowered if two,* " *or one with two witneſſes, to enter and examine houſes even of* " *the privileged orders*."

" 12. All families and perſons liable to the *taille*, in the " provinces of the *Grandes Gabelles* inrolled, and their con- " ſumption of ſalt for the *Pot and Saliere* (that is the daily " conſumption, excluſive of ſalting meat, &c. &c.) eſtimated " at ſeven pounds a head per annum, which quantity they are " forced to buy whether they want it or not, under the pain " of various fines according to the caſe.

" The *Capitaineries* were a dreadful ſcourge on all the " occupiers of land. By this term is to be underſtood the " paramountſhip of certain diſtricts, granted by the King, to " Princes of the blood, by which they were put in poſſeſſion " of the property of all game, even on lands not belonging to " them; and what is very ſingular, on manors granted long " before to individuals; ſo that the erecting of a diſtrict into " a *Capitainarie*, was an alienation of all manerial rights to " game within it. This was a trifling buſineſs, in compariſon " of other circumſtances; for in ſpeaking of the preſervation " of the game in theſe *Capitaineries*, it muſt be obſerved that " by game muſt be underſtood whole droves of wild Boars, " and herds of deer not confined by any wall or pale, but " wandering, at pleaſure, over the whole country, to the de- " ſtruction of crops; and to the peopling of the gallies by the " wretched

" wretched peasants, who presumed to kill them, in order to " save that food which was to support their helpless children. " The game in the *Capitainerie* of Montceau, in four parishes " only, did mischief to the amount of 184,263. liv. per " annum.* No wonder then that we should find the people " asking, " *Nous demandons à grand cris la destruction des Capi-* " *tainaries & celle de toute sorte de gibier.*"† And what are " we to think of demanding, as a favour, the permis- " sion—" *De nettoyer ses grains de faucher les prés artifi-* " *ciels, et d'enlever ses chaumes sans égard pour la perdrix* " *ou tout autre gibier.*" ‡ Now, an English reader will " scarcely understand it without being told, that there were " numerous edicts for preserving the game which prohibited " weeding and hoeing, lest the young partridges should be " disturbed; steeping seed, lest it should injure the game; " manuring with night soil, lest the flavour of the partridges " should be injured by feeding on the corn so produced; " mowing hay, &c. before a certain time, so late as to spoil " many crops; and taking away the stubble, which would " deprive the birds of shelter. The tyranny exercised in " these *Capitaineries*, which extended over 400 leagues of " country was so great that many *Cahiers* demanded the utter " suppression of them.§ Such were the exertions of arbitrary " power, which the lower orders felt directly from the royal " authority; but, heavy as they were, it is a question whe- " ther the others, suffered circuitously through the nobility " and the clergy, were not yet more oppressive? Nothing

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* " *Cahier du tiers etat. de Meaux*, p. 49.

† " ———— *de Mantes & Meulan*, p. 38.

‡ " *Ibid.* p. 40.—*Also Nob. & tiers etat. de Peronne*, p. 42. *De trois ordres* " *de Montfort*, p. 28.

§ " *Clergé de Provins & Montereau*, p. 35.—*Clergé de Paris*, p. 25.—*Clergé* " *de Mantes & Meulan*, p. 45. 46.—*Clergé de Laon*, p. 11.—*Nob. de Nemours*, " p. 17.—*Nob. de Paris*, p. 22.—*Nob. de Arras*, p. 29.

" can

" can exceed the complaints made in the *Cahiers* under this " head. They ſpeak of the diſpenſation of juſtice in the " Manerial Courts, as comprizing every ſpecies of Deſpo- " tiſm: the diſtricts indeterminate—appeals endleſs—irrecon- " cileable to Liberty and Proſperity——and irrevocably " proſcribed in the opinion of the public *—augmenting " litigations—favouring every ſpecies of chicane—ruining " the parties—not only by enormous expences on the moſt " petty objects, but by a dreadful loſs of time. The judges " commonly ignorant pretenders, who hold their courts in " *Cabarets*, and are abſolutely dependent on the Seigneurs. † " Nothing can exceed the force of expreſſion uſed in paint- " ing the oppreſſions of the Seigneurs, in conſequence of " their feudal powers. They are " *Vexations qui ſont le plus* " *grand fléau des peuples.* ‡—*Eſclavage affligeant.* §—*Ce regime* " *deſaſtreuſe.* ‖—That the *feodalité* be for ever aboliſhed. " The countryman is tyrannically enſlaved by it. Fixed " and heavy rents; vexatious proceſſes to ſecure them; ap- " preciated unjuſtly to augment them: rents, *Solidaires*, and " *Revenchables*; rents, *cheantes*, and *levantes*; *fumages*. Fines " at every change of the property, in the direct as well as " collateral line; feudal redemption *(retraite;)* fines on ſale, " to the 8th and even the 6th penny; redemptions *(rachats)* " injurious in their origin, and ſtill more ſo in their exten- " ſion: banalité of the mill, ¶ of the oven, and of the wine

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* " *Rennes*, art. 12.

† " *Nevernois*, art. 43.

‡ " *Tier etat. de Vannes*, p. 24.

§ " *T. Etat. Clermont Ferrand*, p. 52.

‖ " *T. Etat. Auxerre*, art. 6.

¶ " By this horrible law, the people are bound to grind their corn at the " mill of the Seigneur only; to preſs their grapes at his preſs only; and " to bake their bread in his oven; by which means the bread is often ſpoil- " ed, and more eſpecially wine, ſince in Champagne thoſe grapes which, " preſſed immediately, would make white wine, will, by waiting for the " preſs, which often happens, make red wine only.

" and

" and cyder-preſs; *Corvées* by cuſtom; *Corvées* by uſage of " the fief; *Corvées* eſtabliſhed by unjuſt decrees; *Corvées* ar- " bitrary, and even phantaſtical; ſervitudes; *preſtations*, ex- " travagant and burthenſome; collections by aſſeſſments " incollectible; *aveux*, *minus*, *impuniſſemens*; litigations ruin- " ous and without end: the rod of Seigneural finance for " ever ſhaken over our heads; vexation, ruin, outrage, " violence, and deſtructive ſervitude, under which the pea- " ſants, almoſt on a level with poliſh ſlaves, can never but " be miſerable, vile, and oppreſſed.* They demand alſo, " that the uſe of hand-mills be free; and hope that poſterity, " if poſſible, may be ignorant that feudal tyranny in Bre- " tagne, armed with the judicial power, has not bluſhed, " even in theſe times, at breaking hand-mills, and at ſelling " annually to the miſerable, the faculty of bruiſing between " two ſtones a meaſure of buck-wheat or barley.‡ The very " terms of theſe complaints are unknown in England, and " conſequently untranſlatable: they have probably ariſen " long ſince the feudal ſyſtem ceaſed in this kingdom. " What are theſe tortures of the peaſantry in Bretagne, " which they call *Chevanchés*, *quintaines*, *ſoule*, *ſaut de poiſon*, " *baiſer de marrieés*; *chanſons*; *tranſporte d'œuf ſur un charette*; " *ſilence des grenouilles*; § *Corvée a miſericorde*; *milods*; *leide*; " *couponage*; *Cartelage*; *barage*; *fouage*; *marechauſſee*; *ban vin*; " *ban d'aout*; *trouſſes*; *gelinage*; *civerage*; *taillabilité*; *vingtain*; " *ſterlage*; *bordelage*; *minage*; *ban de vendanges*, *droit d'accapte*.¶ " In paſſing through many of the French provinces, I was " ſtruck with the various and heavy complaints of the farm-

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* " *Tiers etat. Rennes*, p. 159.

‡ " *Rennes*, p. 57.

§ " This is a curious article: when the lady of the Seigneur lies in, " the people are obliged to *beat the waters* in marſhy diſtricts, to keep " the frogs ſilent, that ſhe may not be diſturbed; this duty, a very op- " preſſive one, is commuted into a pecuniary fine.

¶ " *Reſumé des Cahiers*, tom. iii. p. 316, 317.

" ers

" ers and little proprietors, of the feudal grievances with
" the weight of which their induſtry was burthened; but
" I could not then conceive the multiplicity of the ſhackles
" which kept them poor and depreſſed. I underſtood it
" better afterwards, from the converſation and complaints
" of ſome grand Seigneurs, as the Revolution advanced;
" and I then learned, that the principal rental of many
" eſtates conſiſted in ſervices and feudal tenures; by the
" baneful influence of which the induſtry of the people
" was almoſt exterminated. In regard to the oppreſſions
" of the clergy, as to tythes, I muſt do that body a juſ-
" tice, to which a claim cannot be laid in England.
" Though the eccleſiaſtical tenth was levied in France
" more ſeverely than uſual in Italy, yet was it never ex-
" acted with ſuch horrid greedineſs as is at preſent the
" diſgrace of England. When taken in kind, no ſuch
" thing was known in any part of France, where I made
" enquiries, as a tenth: it was always a twelfth, or a
" thirteenth, or even a twentieth of the produce. And in
" no part of the kingdom did a new article of culture
" pay any thing: thus turnips, cabbages, clover, chico-
" reé, potatoes, &c. &c. paid nothing. In many parts,
" meadows were exempted. Silk worms nothing. Olives
" in ſome places paid—in more they did not. Cows no-
" thing. Lambs from the 12th to the 21ſt. Wool nothing.
" Such mildneſs in the levy of this odious tax, is abſo-
" lutely unknown in England. But mild as it was, the
" burthen to people groaning under ſo many other oppreſ-
" ſions, united to render their ſituation ſo bad, that no
" change could be for the worſe. But theſe were not all
" the evils with which the people ſtruggled. The admi-
" niſtration of juſtice was partial, venal, infamous. I have
" in converſation with many very ſenſible men, in different
" parts of the kingdom, met with ſomething of content
" with their Government in all other reſpects than this; but
" upon the queſtion of expecting juſtice to be really and
" fairly adminiſtered, every one confeſſed there was no ſuch

" thing to be looked for. The conduct of the parliaments
" was profligate and atrocious. Upon almoſt every cauſe
" that came before them, intereſt was openly made with the
" judges; and woe betided the man, who, with a cauſe to
" ſupport, had no means of conciliating favour, either by
" the beauty of a handſome wife, or by other methods. It
" has been ſaid by many writers, that property was as ſecure
" under the old Government of France, as it is in England;
" and the aſſertion might poſſibly be true, as far as any
" violence from the King, his miniſters, or the great was con-
" cerned: but for all that maſs of property, which comes in
" every country to be litigated in courts of juſtice, there
" was not even the ſhadow of ſecurity, unleſs the parties
" were totally and equally unknown, and totally and equally
" honeſt; in every other caſe, he who had the beſt intereſt
" with the judges, was ſure to be the winner. To reflecting
" minds, the cruelty and abominable practice attending ſuch
" courts are ſufficiently apparent. There was alſo a cir-
" cumſtance in the conſtitution of theſe parliaments, but
" little known in England, and which, under ſuch a govern-
" ment as that of France, muſt be conſidered as very ſingular.
" They had the power, and were in the conſtant practice of
" iſſuing decrees, without the conſent of the crown, and
" which had the force of laws through the whole of their
" juriſdiction; and of all other laws, theſe were ſure to be the
" beſt obeyed; for as all infringements of them were brought
" before Sovereign courts, compoſed of the ſame perſons
" who had enacted theſe laws (a horrible ſyſtem of tyranny!)
" they were certain of being puniſhed with the laſt ſeverity.
" It muſt appear ſtrange, in a Government ſo deſpotic in
" ſome reſpects as that of France, to ſee the parliaments in
" every part of the kingdom making laws without the
" King's conſent, and even in defiance of his authority.
" The Engliſh, whom I met in France in 1789, were ſur-
" prized to ſee ſome of theſe bodies iſſuing arrets againſt the
" export of corn out of the provinces ſubject to their juriſ-
" diction, into the neighbouring provinces, at the ſame time

" that the King, through the organ of ſo popular a miniſter " as Mons. Necker, was decreeing an abſolutely free tranſ- " port of corn throughout the kingdom, and even at the " requiſition of the National Aſſembly itſelf. But this was " nothing new; it was their common practice. The parlia- " ment of Rouen paſſed an arret againſt killing of calves; it " was a prepoſterous one, and oppoſed by adminiſtration; " but it had its full force; and had a butcher dared to offend " againſt it, he would have found by the rigour of his pu- " niſhment, who was his maſter. Inoculation was favoured " by the court in Louis XV's time; but the parliament of " Paris paſſed an arret againſt it, much more effective in " prohibiting, than the favour of the court in encouraging " that practice. Inſtances are innumerable, and I may " remark, that the bigotry, ignorance, falſe principles, " and tyranny of theſe bodies were generally conſpicuous; " and that the court (taxation excepted,) never had a " diſpute with a parliament, but the parliament was ſure " to be wrong. Their conſtitution, in reſpect to the ad- " miniſtration of juſtice, was ſo truly rotten, that the " members ſat as judges even in cauſes of private pro- " perty, in which they were themſelves the parties, and have, " in this capacity, been guilty of oppreſſions and cruelties, " which the crown has rarely dared to attempt.

" It is impoſſible to juſtify the exceſſes of the people on " their taking up arms; they were certainly guilty of cruel- " ties; it is idle to deny the facts, for they have been proved " too clearly to admit of a doubt: *but is it really the people* " *to whom we are to impute the whole? or to their oppreſſors,* " *who had kept them ſo long in a ſtate of bondage?* He who " chuſes to be ſerved by ſlaves, and by ill-treated ſlaves, muſt " know that he holds both his property and life by a tenure " far different from thoſe who prefer the ſervice of well-treated " freemen; and he who dines to the muſic of groaning ſuf- " ferers, muſt not, in the moment of inſurrection, complain that " his daughters are raviſhed, and then deſtroyed; and that his

" ſons throats are cut. When ſuch evils happen, they ſurely " are more imputable to the tyranny of the maſter, than to the " cruelty of the ſervant. The analogy holds with the French " peaſants:—the murder of a Seigneur, or a chateau in flames, " is recorded in every news-paper: the rank of the perſon who " ſuffers, attracts notice; but where do we find the regiſter of " that Seigneur's oppreſſions of his peaſantry, and his exactions " of feudal ſervices from thoſe whoſe children were dying around " them for want of bread? Where do we find the minutes that " aſſigned theſe ſtarving wretches to ſome vile pettifogger, to " be fleeced by impoſitions, and a mockery of juſtice, in the " Seigneural Courts? Who gives us the awards of the Intend- " ant and his *ſub-delegués*, which took off the taxes of a man of " faſhion, and laid them with accumulated weight on the poor, " who were ſo unfortunate as to be his neighbours? Who has " dwelt ſufficiently upon explaining all the ramifications of deſ- " potiſm, regal, ariſtocratical, and eccleſiaſtical, pervading the " whole maſs of the people; reaching, like a circulating fluid, " the moſt diſtant capillary tubes of poverty and wretchedneſs? " In theſe caſes, the ſufferers are too ignoble to be known, and " the maſs too indiſcriminate to be pitied. But ſhould a philo- " ſopher feel and reaſon thus? Should he miſtake the cauſe for " the effect? and, giving all his pity to the few, feel no com- " paſſion for the many, becauſe they ſuffer in his eyes, not in- " dividually, but by millions? The exceſſes of the people can- " not, I repeat, be juſtified; it would undoubtedly have done " them credit, both as men and chriſtians, if they had poſſeſſed " their new acquired power with moderation. But let it be re- " membered, that the populace in no country ever uſe power with " moderation; exceſs is inherent in their aggregate conſtitu- " tion: and as every government in the world knows, that vio- " lence infallibly attends power in ſuch hands, it is doubly " bound in common ſenſe, and for common ſafety, ſo to conduct " itſelf, that the people may not find an intereſt in public confu- " ſions. They will always ſuffer much, and long, before they " are effectually roused; nothing, therefore, can kindle the " flames but ſuch oppreſſions of ſome claſſes or order in the " Society,

" Society, as give able men the opportunity of ſeconding the " general maſs: diſcontent will ſoon diffuſe itſelf around; and " if the Government take not warning in time, it is *alone* an- " ſwerable for all the burnings, and plunderings, and devaſta- " tion, and blood that follow. The true judgement to be " formed of the French revolution, muſt ſurely be gained, from " an attentive conſideration of the evils of the old Govern- " ment: when theſe are well underſtood, and when the ex- " tent and univerſality of the oppreſſion under which the " people groaned—oppreſſion which bore upon them from " every quarter, it will ſcarcely be attempted to be urged, " that a revolution was not abſolutely neceſſary to the wel- " fare of the kingdom. Not one oppoſing voice * can with " reaſon be raiſed againſt this aſſertion: abuſes ought cer- " tainly to be corrected, and corrected effectually: this could " not be done without the eſtabliſhment of a new form of " government; whether the form that has been adopted " were the beſt, is another queſtion abſolutely diſtinct. But " that the abovementioned detail of enormities practiſed on

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* " Many oppoſing voices have been raiſed; but ſo little to their credit, " that I leave the paſſage as it was written long ago. The abuſes that are " rooted in all the old Governments of Europe, give ſuch numbers of men a " direct intereſt in ſupporting, cheriſhing, and defending abuſes, that no " wonder advocates for tyranny, of every ſpecies, are found in every coun- " try, and almoſt in every company. What a maſs of people in every part " of England are ſome way or other intereſted in the preſent repreſentation of " the people, tythes, charters, corporations, monopolies and taxation! and " not merely to the things themſelves, but to all the abuſes attending them; " and how many are there who derive their profit, or their conſideration in life, " not merely from ſuch inſtitutions, but from the evils they engender! The " great maſs of the people, however, is free from ſuch influence, and will be " enlightened by degrees; aſſuredly they will find out, in every country of " Europe, that by combinations, on the principles of liberty and property, " aimed equally againſt regal, ariſtocratical, and mobbiſh tyranny, they will " be able to reſiſt ſucceſsfully that variety of combination, which, on " principles of plunder and deſpotiſm, is every where at work to enſlave " them."

" the

" the people required ſome great change, is ſufficiently ap-
" parent; and I cannot better conclude ſuch a liſt of de-
" teſtable oppreſſions, than in the words of the *Tiers Etat* of
" Nivernois, who hailed the approaching day of liberty with
" an eloquence worthy of the ſubject.

" Les plaintes du peuple ſe ſont long-temps perdues dans
" l'eſpace immenſe qui le ſépare du Trône: cette claſſe la
" plus nombreuſe et la plus intéreſſante de la ſocieté;
" cette claſſe qui mérite les premiers ſoins du gouvernement,
" puiſq' elle alimente toutes les autres; cette claſſe à la-
" quelle on doit et les arts neceſſaires a la vie, et ceux
" qui en embelliſſent les cours; cette claſſe enfin qui en
" recueillent moins a toujours payé davantage, peut-elle
" apres tant de ſiécles d'oppreſſion et de miſére compter
" aujourdhui ſur un ſort plus heureux? Ce ſeroit pour
" ainſi dire blaſphémer l'autorité tutélaire ſous laquelle nous
" vivons que d'én douter un ſeul moment. Un reſpect
" aveugle pour les abus établis ou par la violence, ou
" par la ſuperſtition, une ignorance profonde des condi-
" tions du pacte ſocial voila ce qui a perpétué juſq' à
" nous la ſervitude dans laquelle ont gemi nos pères. Un
" jour plus pure eſt près d'eclorre: le roi a manifeſté le
" deſir de trouver des ſujets capables de lui dire la vérité;
" une de ſes loix, l'edit de création des Aſſemblées provin-
" ciales du moi de Juin 1787, annonce que le vœu le plus
" preſſant de ſon cœur ſera toujours celui qui tendra au
" ſoulagement et au bonheur de ſes peuples: un autre loi
" qui a retenti du centre du royaume à ſes dernières ex-
" tremités nous a promis la reſtitution de touts nos droits,
" dont nous n'avions perdus & dont nous ne pouvions
" perdre que l'exerciſe puiſque le fond de ces mêmes droits
" eſt inaliénable et impreſcriptible. Oſons donc ſecouer le
" joug des anciennes erreurs: oſons dire tout ce qui eſt
" vrai, tout ce qui eſt utile; oſons réclaimer les droits eſſen-
" tiels et primitifs de l'homme: la raiſon, l'equité, l'opinion
" générale,

" générale, la bien faiſance connue de notre auguſte ſouverain
" tout concour à aſſurer les ſuccès de nos doléances. *

" Having ſeen the propriety, or rather the neceſſity, of
" ſome change in the Government, let us next briefly in-
" quire into the effects of the Revolution on the principal
" intereſts in the kingdom.

" In reſpect to all the honours, power and profit derived
" to the nobility from the feudal ſyſtem, which was of an

TRANSLATION OF THE DECLARATION OF THE *TIERS ETAT* OF NIVERNOIS.

" * The complaints of the people have long been loſt in the immenſe ſpace
" which ſeparates them from the throne: this claſs the moſt numerous and
" the moſt intereſting to ſociety; this claſs, which merits the firſt care of
" government, ſince it ſupports all the others; this claſs to which they are
" indebted for the articles neceſſary to life, as well as thoſe which embelliſh
" courts; this claſs, in ſhort, which having reaped the leaſt, has always paid
" the moſt. May it it after ſo many ages of oppreſſion and miſery reckon to
" day on a more happy lot? It would be, in ſo many words, to blaſpheme
" the guardian power under which we live, to doubt it only for a moment. A
" blind reſpect for abuſes, eſtabliſhed either by violence, or by ſuperſtition;
" a profound ignorance of the conditions of the ſocial compact, are the cir-
" cumſtances which have perpetuated to the preſent moment, the ſervitude
" in which our fathers groaned. A purer day is about to open on us: the
" King has expreſſed a deſire of finding ſubjects capable of telling him the
" truth; one of his laws,—the edict for the creation of the Provincial Aſ-
" ſemblies, of the month of June 1787, announces that the wiſh neareſt to his
" heart, will always be that which ſhall tend to the comfort and happineſs of
" his people: another law, which has reſounded from the centre of the
" kingdom to its extreme boundaries, has promiſed us the reſtitution of all
" our rights; which we have not loſt, and which we cannot loſe, except in
" the exerciſe, ſince the foundation of theſe ſame rights is inalienable and
" impreſcriptible. Let us dare therefore to ſhake off the yoke of thoſe antient
" prejudices; let us dare to ſpeak all that is true, every thing which is uſe-
" ful; let us dare to reclaim the eſſential and primitive rights of man: rea-
" ſon, equity, public opinion, the known beneficence of our auguſt Sove-
" reign—every thing concurs to aſſure us of the ſucceſs of our mournful
" complaints."

" extent

" extent in France beyond any thing known in England " ſince the Revolution, or long parliament of 1640, all is " laid in the duſt, without a rag or remnant being ſpared: * " the importance of theſe, both in influence and revenue, " was ſo great, that the reſult is all but ruin to numbers. " However, as theſe properties were real tyrannies; as " they rendered the poſſeſſion of one ſpot of land ruinous " to all around it—and equally ſubverſive of Agriculture, " and the common rights of mankind, the utter deſtruction " brought on all this ſpecies of property, does not ill de- " ſerve the epithet they are ſo fond of in France; it is a " real regeneration of the people to the privileges of hu- " man nature. No man of common feelings can regret the " fall of that abominable ſyſtem, which made a whole pariſh " ſlaves to the Lord of the Manor. But the effects of the " Revolution have gone much farther; and have been at- " tended with conſequences not equally juſtifiable. The " rents of land which are as legal under the new Govern- " ment as they were under the old, are no longer paid " with regularity. I have been lately informed (Aug. 1791,) " on authority not to be doubted, that aſſociations among

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* " It is to be obſerved that the orders of knighthood were at firſt preſerv- " ed; when the National aſſembly with a forbearance that did them honour, " refuſed to aboliſh thoſe orders, becauſe perſonal, of merit, and not heredi- " tary, they were guilty of one groſs error. They ought immediately to have " addreſſed the King, to inſtitute a new order of knighthood—KNIGHTS OF " THE PLOUGH. There are doubtleſs little ſouls that will ſmile at this, and " think a thiſtle, a garter, or an eagle more ſignificant, and more honourable; " I ſay nothing of orders, that exceed common ſenſe and common chronology, " ſuch as St. Eſprit, St. Andrew, and St. Patrick, leaving them to ſuch as " venerate moſt what they leaſt underſtand. But that Prince, who ſhould firſt " inſtitute this order of rural merit, will reap no vulgar honour: Leopold, " whoſe twenty years of ſtudy, and well-earned Tuſcan fame gives him a " good right to do it with propriety, might, as emperor, inſtitute it with " moſt effect. In him, ſuch an action would have in it nothing of affectation. " But I had rather that THE PLOUGH had thus been honoured by a free Aſ- " ſembly. It would have been a trait, that marked the philoſophy of a new " age, and a new ſyſtem.

" tenantry,

" tenantry, to a great amount and extent, have been formed, " even within fifty miles of Paris, for the non-payment of " rent; ſaying, in direct terms, we are ſtrong enough to " detain the rent, and you are not ſtrong enough to enforce " the payment. In a country where ſuch things are poſ- " ſible, property of every kind, it muſt be allowed, is in a " dubious ſituation. Very evil conſequences will reſult from " this; arrears will accumulate too great for landlords to " loſe, or for the peaſants to pay, who will not eaſily be " brought to reliſh that order, and legal Government, " which muſt neceſſarily ſecure theſe arrears to their right " owners. In addition to all the reſt, by the new ſyſtem " of taxation, there is laid a land-tax of 300 millions, or " not to exceed four ſhillings in the pound; but, under " the old Government, their *vingtiemes* did not amount to " the ſeventh part of ſuch an Impoſt. In whatever light, " therefore, the caſe of French landlords is viewed, it will " appear, that they have ſuffered immenſely by the revolu- " tion.—That many of them deſerved it, cannot, however, " be doubted, ſince we ſee their *Cahiers* demanding ſteadily, " that all their feudal rights ſhould be confirmed: * that the " carrying of arms ſhould be ſtrictly prohibited to every " body but noblemen: † that the infamous arrangements of " the Militia ſhould remain on its old footing: ‡ that break- " ing up waſtes, and incloſing commons, ſhould be prohi- " bited: § that the nobility alone ſhould be eligible to enter

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* " *Evreux*, p. 32.—*Bourbonnois*, p. 14.—*Artois*, p. 22.—*Bazas*, p. 8.— " *Nivernois*, p. 7.—*Poitou*, p. 13.—*Saintonge*, p. 5.—*Orleans*, p. 19.— " *Chaumont*, p. 7.

† " *Vermandois*, p. 41.—*Queſnoy*, p. 19.—*Sens*, p. 25.—*Evreux*, p. 36. " *Seſanne*, p. 17.—*Bar ſur ſeine*, p. 6.—*Beauvais*, p. 13.—*Bugey*, p. 34.— " *Clermont Ferand*, p. 11.

‡ " *Limoges*, p. 36.

§ " *Cambray*, p. 19.—*Pont a Mouſſon*, p. 38.

" into the army, church, &c.* that *Lettres de Cachet* ſhould " continue: † that the preſs ſhould not be free; ‡ and, in " fine, that there ſhould be no free corn trade. §

" To the clergy, the revolution has been yet more fatal. " One word will diſpatch this inquiry. The Revolution was " a decided benefit to all the lower clergy of the king- " dom; but it was deſtructive of all the reſt. It is not eaſy " to know what they loſt on the one hand, or what the " National account will gain on the other. Mons. Necker " calculates their revenue at 130,000,000 liv. of which only " 42,500,000 liv. were in the hands of the *Curées* of the " kingdom. Their wealth has been much exaggerated: a " late writer ſays, they poſſeſſed half the kingdom. ¶ Their " number was as little known as their revenue; one writer " makes them 400,000, ‖ another 81,400; ** a third " 80,000. ††

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* " *Lyons*, p. 13.—*Touraine*, p. 31.—*Angoumois*, p. 13.—*Auxerre*, p. 13. " The author of the *Hiſtorical Sketch of the French Revolution*, 8vo. 1792, " ſays, p. 68, " the worſt enemies of nobility have not yet brought to light " any *Cahier*, in which the nobles inſiſted on their excluſive right to military " preferments.—In the ſame page, this Gentleman ſays, it is impoſſible for " any Engliſhman to ſtudy four or five hundred *Cahiers*. It is evident, how- " ever, from this miſtake, how neceſſary it is to examine them before writing " on the Revolution.

† " *Vermandois*, p. 23.—*Chalons-ſur-Marne*, p. 6.—*Gien*, p. 9.

‡ " *Crepy*, p. 10.

§ " *St. Quentin*, p. 9.

¶ " *De l'Autorité de Monteſquieu dans la Revolution preſenté*, 8vo. 1789, " p. 61.

‖ " *Etats generaux convoqués par Louis XVI. par M. Target, prem.* " *ſuite*, p. 7.

** " *Qu'eſt-ce-que le Tiers Etat*, 3d edit. par M. l'Abbé Siéyes, 8vo. " p. 51.

†† " *Bibliotheque de l'homme publique, par M. Condorcet, &c.* tom. iii.

" The

" The clergy in France have been ſuppoſed by many perſons in England, to merit their fate from their peculiar profligacy. But the idea is not accurate: that ſo large a body of men, poſſeſſed of very great revenues, ſhould be free from vice, would be improbable, or rather impoſſible; but they preſerved, what is not always preſerved in England, an exterior decency of behaviour.—One did not find among them poachers, or foxhunters, who having ſpent the morning in ſcampering after hounds, dedicate the evening to the bottle, and reel from inebriety to the pulpit. Such advertiſements were never ſeen in France, as I have heard of in England:—*Wanted a Curacy in a good ſporting country, where the duty is light, and the neighbourhood convivial.* The proper exerciſe for a country clergyman, is the employment of agriculture, which demands ſtrength and activity—and which, vigorouſly followed, will fatigue enough to give eaſe its beſt reliſh. A ſportſman parſon may be, as he often is in England, a good ſort of man, and *an honeſt fellow*; but certainly this purſuit, and the reſorting to obſcene comedies, and kicking their heels in the jig of an aſſembly, are not the occupations for which we can ſuppoſe tythes were given.* Whoever will give any attention to the demands of the clergy in their *Cahiers*, will ſee that there was on many topics, an ill ſpirit in that body. They maintain, for inſtance, that the liberty of the preſs ought rather to be reſtrained than extended: † that the laws againſt it ſhould be renewed and executed: ‡ that admiſſion into religious orders ſhould be as formerly

* " Nothing appears ſo ſcandalous to all the clergy of Europe, as their brethren in England dancing at public aſſemblies; and a biſhop's *wife* engaged in the ſame amuſement, ſeems to them as prepoſterous as a biſhop, in his lawn ſleeves, following the ſame diverſion would to us. Probably both are wrong.

† " *Saintonge*, p. 24.—*Limoges*, p. 6, &c.

‡ " *Lyons*, p. 13.—*Dourdon*, p. 5.

" at ſixteen years of age: * that *Lettres de Cachet*, are uſeful " and even neceſſary. † They ſolicit to prohibit all divi- " ſion of Commons; ‡ to revoke the edict allowing in- " cloſures; § that the export of corn be not allowed; ¶ " and that public granaries be eſtabliſhed. ‖

" The ill effects of the Revolution have been felt more " ſeverely by the manufacturers of the kingdom, than by " any other claſs of the people. The rivalry of the En- " gliſh fabrics, in 1787, and 1788, was ſtrong and ſucceſs- " ful; and the confuſions that followed in all parts of the " kingdom, had the effect of leſſening the incomes of ſo " many landlords, clergy, and men in public employments; " and ſuch numbers fled from the kingdom, that the general " maſs of the conſumption of national fabrics ſunk perhaps " three fourths. The men whoſe incomes were untouched, " leſſened their conſumption greatly, from an apprehenſion " of the unſettled ſtate of things: the proſpects of a civil " war ſuggeſted to every man, that his ſafety, perhaps his " future bread, depended on the money which he could " hoard. The inevitable conſequence, was, turning abſo- " lutely out of employment immenſe numbers of workmen. " I have in the Diary of the Journey, noticed the infinite " miſery to which I was a witneſs at Lyons, Abbeville, " Amiens, &c.—And by intelligence, I underſtood, that it " was ſtill worſe at Rouen: the fact could not be otherwiſe. " This effect which was abſolute death, by ſtarving many

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* " *Saintonge*, p. 26.—*Montargis*, p. 10.

† " *Limoges*, p. 22.

‡ " *Troyes*, p. 11.

§ " *Metz*, p. 11.

¶ " *Rouen*, p. 24.

‖ " *Lens*, p. 11.—*Dourdon*, p. 17.

" thouſands

" thouſands of families, was a reſult, that, in my opinion, " might have been avoided. It flowed only from carrying " things to extremities—from driving the nobility out of " the kingdom, and ſeizing, inſtead of regulating, the whole " regal authority. Theſe violences were not neceſſary to " Liberty; they even deſtroyed true Liberty, by giving the " Government of the kingdom, in too great a degree to " Paris, and to the populace of every town.

" The effect of the Revolution to the ſmall proprietors of " the kingdom, muſt, according to the common nature of " events, be, *in the end*, remarkably happy; and had the " new Government adopted any principles of taxation, ex- " cept thoſe of the *Oeconomiſtes*, eſtabliſhing at the ſame time " an abſolute freedom in the buſineſs of incloſure, and in the " police of corn, the reſult would probably have been ad- " vantageous, even at this recent period. The committee " of Impoſts * mention (and I doubt not their accuracy,) the " profperity of agriculture, in the ſame page in which they " lament the depreſſion of every other branch of the Na- " tional induſtry. Upon a moderate calculation there re- " mained, in the hands of the claſſes depending on land, on " the account of taxes in the years 1789, and 1790, at leaſt " 300,000,000 liv.; the execution of *Corvées* was as lax " as the payment of taxes. To this we are to add two years " tythe, which I cannot eſtimate at leſs than 300,000,000 " liv. more. The abolition of all feudal rents, and " payments of every ſort during thoſe two years, could " not be leſs than 100,000,000 liv. including ſervices. But " all theſe articles, great as they were, amounting to near " 800,000,000 liv. were leſs than the immenſe ſums that " came into the hands of the farmers by the high price of " corn throughout the year 1789; a price ariſing almoſt en-

* " *Rapport le* 6. *Decembre* 1790, *ſur les moyens de pourvoir aux depenſes* " *pour*, 1791, p. 4.

" tirely

" tirely from Mons. Necker's fine operations in the corn " trade, as it has been proved at large; it is true there is a " deduction to be made on account of the unavoidable di- " minution of conſumption in every article of land produce, " not eſſentially neceſſary to life: every object of luxury, or " tending to it is leſſened greatly. But after this diſcount is " allowed, the balance, in favour of the little proprietor " farmers, muſt be very great. The benefit of ſuch a ſum " being added, as it is to the capital of huſbandry, needs no " explanation. Their agriculture muſt be invigorated by " ſuch wealth—by the freedom enjoyed by its profeſſors; " by the deſtruction of its innumerable ſhackles, and even " by the diſtreſſes of other employments, occaſioning new " and great inveſtments of capital in land: and theſe lead- " ing facts will appear in a clearer light, when the pro- " digious diviſion of landed property in France is well " conſidered; probably half, perhaps two-thirds, of the " kingdom are in the poſſeſſion of little proprietors, who " paid quit-rents, and feudal duties, for the ſpots they " farmed. Such men are placed at once in comparative " affluence; and as eaſe is thus acquired by at leaſt half " the kingdom, it muſt not be ſet down as a point of " trifling importance. Should France eſcape a civil war, " ſhe will, in the proſperity of theſe men, find a reſource " which politicians at a diſtance do not calculate. With " renters, the caſe is certainly different; for, beyond all " doubt, Landlords will, ſooner or later, avail themſelves " of theſe circumſtances, by advancing their rents; acting " in this reſpect as in every other country, is common; " but they will find it impoſſible to deprive the tenantry " of a vaſt advantage, neceſſarily flowing from their eman- " cipation.

" The confuſion, which has ſince ariſen in the finances " owing almoſt entirely to the mode of taxation adopted " by the Aſſembly, has had the effect of continuing to the " preſent moment (1791,) a freedom from all Impoſts to " the

" the little proprietors, which, however dreadful its general " effects on the National affairs, has tended ſtrongly to en- " rich this claſs.

" The effects of the Revolution, not on any particular " claſs of cultivators, but on agriculture in general, is with " me, I muſt confeſs, very queſtionable; I ſee no benefits " flowing, *particularly* to agriculture (liberty applies equally " to *all* claſſes, and is not yet ſufficiently eſtabliſhed for " the protection of *property*,) except the caſe of tythes; " but I ſee the riſe of many evils; reſtrictions and prohi- " bitions on the trade of corn—a varying land-tax, and " impeded incloſures, are miſchiefs on *principle*, that may " have a generative faculty; and will prove infinite draw- " backs from the proſperity, which certainly was attain- " able. It is to be hoped that the good ſenſe of the As- " ſembly will reverſe this ſyſtem by degrees; for, if it is " not reverſed, AGRICULTURE CANNOT FLOURISH.

" The effect of the Revolution, on the public revenue, " is one great point on which Mons. de Calonne lays " conſiderable ſtreſs; and it has ſince been urged in France, " that the ruin of 30,000 families, thrown abſolutely out " of employment, and conſequently out of bread, in the " collection of the taxes on ſalt and tobacco only, has had " a powerful influence in ſpreading univerſal diſtreſs and " miſery. The public revenue ſunk, in one year, 175 " millions: this was not a loſs of that ſum; the people to " whom aſſignats were paid on that account loſt no more " than the diſcount; the loſs, therefore, to the people to " whom that revenue was paid, could amount to no more " than from five to ten per cent.* But was it a loſs to

* " Since this was written, aſſignats fell, in December 1791, and Ja- " nuary 1792, to 34, to 38 per cent. paid in ſilver; and 42 to 50 paid in " gold, ariſing from great emiſſions; from the quantity of private paper iſſu- " ed; from forged ones being common, and from the proſpect of a war.

" the

" the miſerable ſubjects who formerly paid thoſe taxes;
" and who paid them by the ſweat of their brows, at the
" expence of the bread out of their childrens mouths, af-
" feſſed with tyranny, and levied in blood? Do they feel
" a loſs in having 175 millions in their pockets in 1789,
" more than they had in 1788? and in poſſeſſing other
" 175 millions more in 1790, and the inheritance in future?
" Is not ſuch a change eaſe, wealth, life, and animation to
" thoſe claſſes, who, while the pens of political ſatiriſts
" ſlander all innovations, are every moment reviving, by
" inheriting from that revolution, ſomething which the old
" Government aſſuredly did not give? The revenue of the
" clergy may be called the revenue of the public:—thoſe
" to whom the difference between the preſent payment of
" 140 millions, and the old tythes, are a deduction of all
" revenue, are, beyond doubt, in great diſtreſs; but what
" ſay the farmers throughout the kingdom, from whom the
" deteſtable burthen of thoſe taxes was extorted? Do not
" they find their culture lightened, their induſtry freed,
" their products their own? Go to the Ariſtocratical po-
" litician at Paris, or at London, and you hear only of
" the ruin of France—go to the cottage of the *Metayer*, or
" the houſe of the farmer, and demand of him what the
" reſult has been—there will be but one voice from Calais
" to Bayonne. If tythes were to be at one ſtroke aboliſhed
" in England,* no doubt the clergy would ſuffer, but would
" not the Agriculture of the kingdom, with every man
" dependent on it, riſe with a vigour never before expe-
" rienced?"

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* " It is an error in France to ſuppoſe, that the revenue of the church
" is ſmall in England. The Royal Society of Agriculture at Paris, ſtates that
" revenue at 210,000l.; it cannot be ſtated at leſs than five millions
" ſterling. *Mem. preſenté par la S. R. d'Ag. a l'Aſſemblée Nationale*, 1789,
" p. 52.—One of the greateſt and wiſeſt men we have in England, perſiſts
" in aſſerting it to be *much leſs*, than two millions. From very numerous
" inquiries, which I am ſtill purſuing, I have reaſon to believe this opinion
" to be founded on inſufficient data."

Young's

Young's Travels, p. 550.

"The means of making a Government reſpected and beloved are, in England, obvious; taxes muſt be immenſely reduced; aſſeſſments on malt, leather, candles, ſoap, ſalt and windows, muſt be aboliſhed or lightened; the funding ſyſtem, the parent of taxation, annihilated for ever, by taxing the intereſt of the public debt—the Conſtitution, that admits a debt, carries in its vitals the ſeeds of its deſtruction: tythes * and teſts aboliſhed; the repreſentation of Parliament reformed; and its duration ſhortened; not to give the people, without property, a predominancy, but to prevent that corruption, in which our debts and taxes have originated; the utter deſtruction of all monopolies; and among them of all charters and corporations; game made property, and belonging to the poſſeſſor of one acre, as much as to him, who has a thouſand; and, laſtly, the laws, both criminal and civil, to be thoroughly reformed. Theſe circumſtances include the great evils of the Britiſh Conſtitution; if they be remedied, it may enjoy even a Venetian longevity; but if they be allowed, like cancerous humours, to prey on the nobler parts of the political ſyſtem, this boaſted fabric may not exiſt even twenty years."

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* "The exaction of tythes is ſo abſurd and tyrannical an attack on the property of mankind, that it is almoſt impoſſible for them to continue in any country in the world half a century longer. To pay a man by force 1000l. a year, for doing by deputy what would be much better done for 100l. is too groſs an impoſition to be endured. To levy that 1000l. in the moſt pernicious method that can wound both property and liberty, are circumſtances congenial to the tenth century, but not to the eighteenth. Italy, France, and America, have ſet noble examples for the imitation of mankind; and thoſe countries, that do not follow them, will ſoon be as inferior in cultivation as they are in policy."

Young's Travels, p. 556.

" The groſs abuſe which has been thrown on the French " nation, and particularly on their aſſemblies, in certain " pamphlets, and without interruption, in ſeveral of our " newſpapers, ought to be deprecated by every man who " feels for the future intereſts of this country. It is in ſome " inſtances carried to ſo ſcandalous an exceſs, that we muſt " neceſſarily give extreme diſguſt to thouſands of people, " who may hereafter have an ample opportunity to vote and " act under the influence of impreſſions unfavourable towards " a country that, unprovoked, has loaded them with ſo " much contumely: for a nation groaning under a debt of " 240 millions, that deadens the very idea of future energy, " this ſeems, to uſe the mildeſt language, to be at leaſt, very " imprudent."

Very important hints theſe! How admirably Mr. Young has attended to them, may be ſeen in *The Example of France a Warning to Britain!*

April 26, 1792.

Young's Travels, p. 565.

" In the laſt moment which the preparation for publica- " tion allows me to uſe, the intelligence is arrived of a de- " claration of war on the part of France againſt the Houſe " of Auſtria. The Gentlemen in whoſe company I hear " it, all announce deſtruction to France; *they will be* " *beat*; *they want diſcipline*; *they have no ſubordination*; and " this idea I find general. So cautiouſly as I have avoided " *prophetic* preſumption through the preceding pages, I ſhall " ſcarcely aſſume it ſo late in my labours; but thus " much I may venture, that the expectation of deſtruction to " France has many difficulties to encounter. Give all you " pleaſe to the power of field evolution—depending on the " utmoſt ſtrictneſs of diſcipline—you muſt admit, that it " bears

" bears only on the queſtion of battles? But guarded as
" France is, by the moſt important frontier fortreſſes the
" world knows, why hazard battles? Undiſciplined troops
" behind walls and within *works*, are known on experience
" to be effective; and where are the reſources to be found
" that ſhall attack thoſe ſtrong holds 700 miles from home?
" I was at Liſle, Metz, and Straſbourg; and if the mili-
" tary intelligence I had was accurate, it would demand
" 100,000 men, completely provided with every thing for a
" ſiege, three months, to take either of thoſe towns, ſup-
" poſing them well provided and well defended. We know,
" on poſitive experience, what the Auſtrians and Pruſſians,
" led by ſome of the greateſt men that have exiſted, were
" able to do in ſieges, when undertaken at their own doors;
" what will they effect againſt places ten times as ſtrong,
" and 700 miles from home? It is a matter of calculation;
" of pounds and ſhillings; not of diſcipline and obedience.

" But many depend on the deranged ſtate of the French
" finances; that derangement flows abſolutely from a vain
" attempt at preſerving public credit:—the National Aſſem-
" bly will ſee its futility; miſery; ruin; the NATION muſt
" be preſerved.—What, on compariſon, is *public credit?*

" The diviſions, factions, and internal diſturbances, offer
" to others the hope of a civil war. It ought to be a vain
" hope. During peace, ſuch difficulties fill the papers, and
" and are dwelt upon, till men are apt to think them terri-
" ble; in war they are TREASON, and the gallows ſweeps
" from the world, and the columns of a Gazette the
" actors and the recital.

" Oil and vinegar—fire and water—Pruſſians and Auſtri-
" ans are united to carry war amongſt twenty-ſix millions of
" men, arranged behind a hundred of the ſtrongeſt fortreſſes
" in the world. If we are deceived, and Frenchmen are not
" fond of freedom, but will fight for deſpotiſm—ſomething

" may be done; for then France falls by the power of " France; but if united but tolerably, the attack will be " full of difficulties in a country where every man, woman, " and child is an enemy, that fights for freedom.

" But, ſuppoſe this idea erroneous—ſuppoſe an impreſſion " made—and that the German banners were flying at Paris— " Where is the ſecurity of the reſt of Europe: Is the diviſion " of Poland forgotten? Is an unforeſeen union of two or three " great powers to protrude through Europe, a predominancy " dangerous to all? Gentlemen, who indulge their wiſhes " for a counter-revolution in France, do not, perhaps, wiſh " to ſee the Pruſſian colours at the Tower, nor the Auſtrian " at Amſterdam. Yet ſucceſs to the cauſe might plant them " there. Should real danger ariſe to France, which I hold " to be problematical, it is the buſineſs, and direct intereſt " of her neighbours, to ſupport her.

" The revolution and anti-revolution parties of England, " have exhauſted themſelves on the French queſtion,—But " there can be none, if that people ſhould be in danger; " we hold at preſent the balance of the world; and have but " to ſpeak, and it is ſecure."

I have ſought in vain for this laſt quotation in the SECOND EDITION of Mr. Young's Travels.—

Many other paſſages equally excellent might be ſelected from Mr. YOUNG'S WORK, which I ſhould with pleaſure have preſented to the reader, and contraſted with, *The Example of France a Warning to Britain.* But I forbear—Major Cartwright, that honeſt man, and ſteady friend to freedom, is preparing a work for the preſs, which, I underſtand, will include ſome remarks on the inconſiſtencies of Mr. Young.

As the evils attendant on the preſent calamitous war were clearly foreſeen by the friends to Reform, and as they made every

effort, in their power, to prevent this country from engaging in ſo abſurd and ruinous a conteſt, it may not be improper to conclude this work with laying before the reader the following documents, in which theſe important facts cannot paſs unobſerved: 1ſt. That the expences of the year 1794 exceeded thoſe of the year 1793 nearly ſeven millions ſterling; and, 2dly, that in the year 1794, whilſt our expences were increaſing, our revenue (excluding the ſum paid by the Eaſt-India Company) was diminiſhing; which is the more to be lamented, as we formerly had weekly accounts given of the exceſs of the Revenue above the expenditure.

Similar obſervations were made during the war with America; the truth of which we now feel by the annual payment of taxes to the amount of conſiderably more than five millions ſterling, in conſequence of that unwiſe, unjuſt, and unneceſſary undertaking. What additional burthens we ſhall be compelled to bear from the expences of the war in which we are at preſent engaged, it would be difficult to ſtate. This, however, may with truth be aſſerted, that enormous as the expences of the year 1794 appear, they will be found to have greatly exceeded the eſtimate. What the expences of the next year will be, the mind can ſcarcely form an idea of; a bargain *being already concluded*, for a loan of twenty-four millions; eighteen millions of which are for this country, and ſix millions for *one* of our allies, the Emperor of Germany.

Enormous as theſe ſums are, and heavily as the additional taxes will be felt, which muſt be laid for the payment of the intereſt, yet the unconſtitutional manner in which this bargain has been made, by the queſtion of war being determined *before* the meeting of Parliament, ought to be matter of more ſerious alarm to every thinking mind. But, were I to proceed, I ſhould enter on a ſubject ſo ſerious and extenſive, that I ſhould only begin where I mean to end; more eſpecially

cially were I to take into conſideration the numerous evils under which the commercial intereſt of this country labours; but, I fear, they are ſo grievouſly felt, that even had I leiſure, any obſervations upon that ſubject would be ſuperfluous.

I ſhall only add, that in the year 1775, at the commencement of the American war, our national debt was one hundred and thirty-eight millions. I am informed, and from the moſt reſpectable authority, that, including the *unfunded* debt, it is now nearly three hundred and twenty millions, and were peace to be concluded to-morrow, it would be found upon the ſettlement of the public accounts, that in leſs than the laſt twenty years our national debt has been increaſed two hundred millions, which have burthened the people of this country with additional taxes to the amount of nearly ten millions ſterling annually.

BUDGET IN 1793.

INCOME.		EXPENDITURE.	
Permanent taxes, including ſtamps, exciſe, cuſtoms, and incidents	14,284,194	Charges on the conſolidated fund for civil liſt, payment of principal and intereſt of debt, &c. &c.	12,072,626
Land and malt tax, taken at	2,750,000	Deficiency of grants	222,325
	17,034,194	Deficiency of land and malt tax	350,000
Deficiency, made up by a loan of 6¼ millions of 3 per cents.	4,520,642	Navy debt 3,971,915	
	£. 21,554,836	Army and militia 3,968,558	
		Ordnance 793,568	
		Miſcellaneous ſervices 175,844	
			8,909,885
			£. 21,554,836

BUDGET IN 1794.

INCOME.		EXPENDITURE.	
Permanent taxes	13,974,000	Charges on the conſolidated fund for civil liſt, payment of principal and intereſt of debt, &c, &c.	11,797,000
Land and malt tax, taken at	2,750,000	Deficiency of grants	474,000
Eaſt India Company . . .	500,000	Deficiency of land and malt tax	350,000
	17,224,000	Exchequer bills, in addition to thoſe already iſſued	2,000,000
Deficiency, made up by a loan of 11 millions of 3 per cents. 2¾ millions of 4 per cents. and £. 62,791 13s. 4d. per ann. Long Annuities	11,013,000	Addition to the Sinking Fund .	200,000
	£. 28,237,000	Navy 5,525,000	
		Army 6,340,000	
		Ordnance 1,345,000	
		Miſcellaneous ſervices 206,000	
			13,416,000 *
			£. 28,237,000

* The *Peace* Eſtabliſhment from 1786 to 1792 was on an average 5¼ Millions annually.

DEBT

DEBT CONTRACTED SINCE DECEMBER, 1792;

(That is, in Two Years only)

Supposing the different Stocks in which it has been funded to be converted into Three per Cent. Consolidated Bank Annuities.

	Stock in the 3 per Cents.
17¼ Millions 3 per Cents. borrowed in the beginning of the years 1793 and 1794	17,250,000
2¾ Millions 4 per Cents. borrowed in the beginning of 1794	3,634,600
£.62,792 per Ann. Long Annuities, borrowed in the beginning of 1794	1,949,600
18 Millions in the 3 per Cents. proposed to be borrowed in the present month of December---	18,000,000
6 Millions in the 4 per Cents. ditto	7,929,900
£. 112,500 per Ann. Long Annuities, ditto	3,492,900
	52,257,000

N.B. The three last articles are to make up the present intended loan of EIGHTEEN MILLIONS STERLING.

£.1,949,330 Navy Bills funded in the 5 per Cents. this year, which converted into 3 per Cents....	3,144,000
Proposed Loan to the Emperor, of 6 Millions *Sterling*, guaranteed by Parliament, and most probably to be ultimately paid by this country, converted into 3 per Cents.	9,677,400
Total	65,078,400

The *increase* of the *unfunded* debt should be also added to this sum, which will, no doubt, make it to exceed 70 Millions!.

In

In the courſe of the laſt eight years about 14 millions of three per cent. Stock have been redeemed—and this has been done, not by any ſurplus of Revenue, but by a Loan of one Million by the way of Tontine—by collecting the arrears of taxes in the receiver's hands, by the aſſiſtance of Lotteries,—of the arrears due from the Eaſt-India Company—of caſh remaining in the Exchequer in the beginning of the year 1786—of impreſt monies—of unclaimed dividends in the Bank and South Sea Annuities, &c. &c.

N. B. Upon the 11th of March 1793, the Houſe of Commons having reſolved itſelf into a Committee of Supply, Mr. Pitt, in his ſpeech "obſerved, that after every other reſource, there "would be wanting a Loan of 2,900,000*l.* He had not "then made any propoſals as to the terms of the Loan, "BECAUSE HE CONSIDERED IT AS A PREVIOUS "DUTY, TO SUBMIT THIS STATEMENT TO THE "PUBLIC, IN ORDER TO AVOID ANY THING, "WHICH MIGHT HAVE THE APPEARANCE OF DE-"CEPTION." New Annual Regiſter for 1793, p. 78.

December 15, 1794.

FINIS.